

June 1955

Volume XLIV, No. 6

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Answers to a Key Question:

How Shall We Rescue Our Cities?

- States Stifle Communities
By Senator Thomas C. Desmond
- A Mayor Puts It on the Line
By William O. Winter
- First Aid for Sick Towns
By William F. McDermott

Program of Seattle Conference

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Municipal Review

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor

ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN E. BEDOUT
WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
VICTOR JONES

JOHN P. KEITH
AMOS LANDMAN
WILLIAM F. LARSEN
H. M. OLMSTED
WADE S. SMITH

WM. REDIN WOODWARD

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON RIESE, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
A. C. BRECKENRIDGE, *Nebraska*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *New York*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
PAUL DOLAN, *Delaware*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARRER, *South Dakota*
VICTOR FISCHER, *Alaska*
FOREST FRANK, *Ohio*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEBBLI, *Oregon*
JOSEPH A. KELLY, *Rhode Island*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*

DAVID KNAFF, *New Hampshire*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
JAMES W. McGEHEE, *New Jersey*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *Colorado*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
KIMBROUGH OWEN, *Louisiana*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
ALBERT B. SAYE, *Georgia*
VICTORIA SCHUCK, *Massachusetts*
LOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE C. SIFFRELL, *New York*
PAUL D. STEWART, *West Virginia*
JOHN C. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

George H. Gallup, President

John S. Linn, Vice President

Carl H. Pforzheimer, Treasurer

George S. Van Schaick, Vice President

Alfred Willoughby, Executive Director

Richard S. Childs, Chairman, Executive Committee

COUNCIL

Cecil Morgan, New York, Chairman

Frederick L. Bird, New York
Arthur W. Bromage, Ann Arbor, Mich.
E. Bartlett Brooks, Dayton, Ohio
Henry Bruere, New York
William H. Bulkeley, Hartford
Mrs. Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
Charles E. Commender, Jr., Jacksonville
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
E. D. Dodd, Toledo
Harold W. Dodd, Princeton, N. J.
Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J.
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
Arnold Frye, New York
Ewart W. Goodwin, San Diego

Thomas Graham, Louisville
Francis A. Harrington, Worcester
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
L. E. Mackay, Richmond, Va.
Ransom C. Martin, Syracuse, N. Y.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Otto L. Nelson, Jr., Princeton, N. J.
James M. Osborn, New Haven, Conn.
H. Bruce Palmer, Newark, N. J.
Lawson Parry, New York
Robert H. Rawson, Cleveland
Arthur B. Richardson, New York
Philip K. Robinson, Milwaukee
Murray Senegood, Cincinnati

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

Joe Chambliss, Chattanooga
William Collins, New York
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Carl J. Gilbert, Boston
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis

Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
John Naxon, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex B. Thomas, San Antonio

Carleton B. Tibbette, Los Angeles

News of the League

Seattle Program Features Gallup, Childs, Langlie

Distinguished authorities in the field of state and local government will play a major role at the 61st Annual National Conference on Government, July 24-27, in Seattle, Washington. The Conference is sponsored by the National Municipal League, the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington, and the Municipal League of Seattle and King County.

As in recent conferences, Dr. George H. Gallup, president of the National Municipal League and originator of the Gallup Poll, will have his turn at the rostrum. His topic: "Milestones Ahead."

Senator Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon has agreed to participate in a panel session on nominating systems, provided that Congress has adjourned by the time the Conference is held.

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee and widely known as "father of the council-manager plan," will make an address entitled "Old Reformers Never Die."



George H. Gallup



Richard S. Childs



Governor Arthur B. Langlie of Washington, speaker at National Conference.

Mr. Childs, who has attended 25 National Conferences and whose experience with citizen action to raise the standards of local government is perhaps the most extensive in the country, will review the achievements and failures of the long campaign for better government.

William R. Mathews, the globe-trotting editor and publisher of the *Arizona Daily Star*, one of the leading newspapers in the southwest, will chair a panel on the role of the press in solving metropolitan area problems.

Top officials of the U. S. Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, which will make its final report later this month, are also expected to speak.

As in former years, a Charter Clinic will hold discussions.

The focus of the Conference will be three-fold: (1) the problems arising from the rapid postwar growth of metropolitan areas; (2) the interrelations and respective responsibilities of federal, state and local governments; and (3) the opportunities and duties for intelligent

and effective citizen action in civic affairs.

The program and participants are listed in part below:

July 25, 9:15 A.M.

Hogtied Cities—The Fight for Home Rule. Chairman: Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan. Members:

Chester Biesen, Executive Secretary, Association of Washington Cities.

Al Loucks, Oregon Legislator.

Leverett S. Lyon, Association of Commerce and Industry, Chicago.

Donnelly P. McDonald, Jr., Chairman, Home Rule Committee, Indiana Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Perry R. Smith, Assistant City Attorney, San Antonio.

Harvey Walker, Ohio State University.

Challenge to the Press—Our Mushrooming Cities. Chairman: William R. Mathews, Editor and Publisher, *Arizona Daily Star*, Tucson. Members:

Robert B. Atwood, Anchorage (Alaska) *News*.

Richard B. Baumhoff, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

Homer E. Dowdy, *Flint (Michigan) Journal*.

George R. Henderson, Vice Admiral, USN, Retired, Consultant to the President and Publisher, *San Diego Union*.

The People's Choice — Local Election Systems. Chairman: Francis A. Harrington, Former President, Worcester (Massachusetts) Plan E Association. Members:

Ethan P. Allen, Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas.

Mrs. Albert D. Cash, Former Councilman, Cincinnati.

Let Our Governors Govern! Strengthening State Management. Chairman to be announced. Members:

Dr. Joseph E. McLean, Commissioner of Conservation and Economic Development, New Jersey.



Lee M. Sharrar



George Van Schaick

Harold Shefelman, Chairman, "Little Hoover" Commission, State of Washington.

Edward A. Ackerman, Former Assistant General Manager, TVA.

The Business Citizen—His Role in Civic Affairs. Chairman: Lee M. Sharrar, counsel, Humble Oil & Refining Company. Members:

J. W. Clise, President, J. W. Clise & Co., Seattle.

E. D. Dodd, Production Manager, Libby Glass Division, Owens-Illinois Glass Company, Toledo.

July 25, 12:15 P.M.

Luncheon Meeting. Speaker: A. B. Langlie, Governor of Washington. Topic: "States' Rights and States' Duties." Presiding: Ben B. Ehrlichman, General Conference Chairman.

July 25, 2:15 P.M.

The Crucial Role of the States. Chairman to be announced.

Dr. George C. S. Benson, President, Claremont Men's College, Claremont, California.

Dr. Frederick L. Bird, Director of Municipal Research, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.

Sam Houston Jones, Former Governor of Louisiana and Member, Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

J. W. Judge, Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs, Province of Alberta, Canada.

July 26, 8:00 A.M.

Proportional Representation League Breakfast. Business Meeting and Discussion. Presiding: Richard S. Childs.

July 26, 9:15 A.M.

Making the County Count — Modern Charters for Counties. Chairman: Robert H. Rawson, President, Citizens League of Cleveland. Members:

John C. Bollens, Acting Director, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles.



Frederick L. Bird



Lloyd Hale

Weldon Cooper, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia.
 John A. Donaho, Consultant, Baltimore County Charter Board.
 Victor Jones, Professor of Government, Wesleyan University.
 Albert A. King, King County Board of Freeholders, Washington.
 James A. Singer, Chairman, St. Louis County Council.
 E. R. Stallings, County Manager, San Mateo County, California.

How Much Does Your Vote Weigh? — The Problem of Legislative Apportionment. Chairman: Jac Chambliss, Founder, Citizens Good Government League, Chattanooga. Members:

Alfred Fitt, Legal Counsel, Governor's Office, Lansing, Michigan.
 Jack F. McKay, Executive Director, Legislative Council, Juneau, Alaska.
 Gus Tyler, Director, Political Department, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Looking toward Tomorrow — The Citizen's Role in Local Planning. Chairman: George S. Van Schaick, Former Superintendent of Insurance, New York State. Members:

Frank H. Backstrom, City Manager, Tacoma, Washington.
 George Duggar, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California.
 P. N. Royal, Principal Engineer, Seattle.

Preserving Our Heritage — The States and Natural Resources. Chairman: Edward A. Ackerman, Former Assistant General Manager, TVA. Member:

Charles McKinley, Reed College.

Bulwark of Local Government — Shoring Up the Property Tax. Chairman: John S. Linen, Vice President, The Chase Manhattan Bank. Members:

Kenneth Back, Acting Executive Director, National Association of Assessing Officers.
 Roger A. Freeman, Special Assistant to the Governor of Washington.
 Edward Staples, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey.

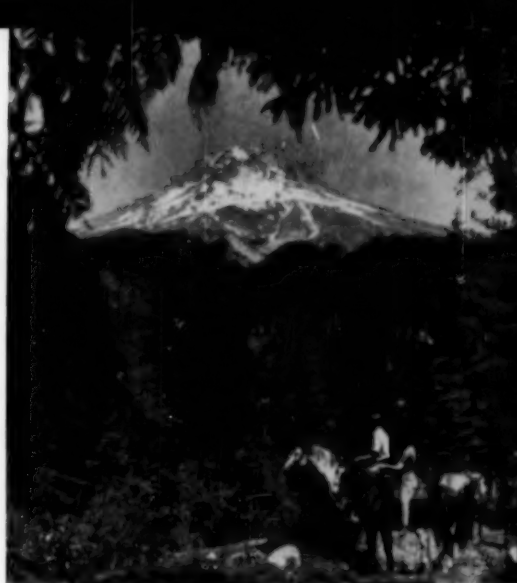
July 26, 12:15 P.M.

Luncheon Meeting. Speaker: Frank C. Moore, Former Lieutenant Governor, New York State, and President, Government Affairs Foundation.

July 26, 2:15 P.M.

Solving the Metropolitan Puzzle. Chairman: Herbert Emmerich, executive director, Public Administration Clearing House. Members:

Charlton F. Chute, Assistant Director, Institute of Public Administration.



Stop off at Mount Hood on way home from Seattle.

James R. Ellis, Seattle Attorney.
 Herman Kehrli, University of Oregon.
 Donald R. Larson, Metropolitan Miami Municipal Board.
 Thomas H. Reed, Consultant on Municipal Government.
 Leslie J. Reese, Vice President, Pennsylvania Economy League, Pittsburgh.

July 27, 9:15 A.M.

Breaking Legal Logjams — Modernizing State and Local Courts. Chairman: Cecil Morgan, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey). Members:

Douglas L. Edmonds, Supreme Court Justice, California.
 James P. Hart, Former Supreme Court Justice, Texas, and Former Chancellor, University of Texas.
 John N. Rupp, Municipal League of Seattle and King County.
 Glenn R. Winters, Secretary-Treasurer, American Judicature Society.

Civic Victories and Defeats — Citizen Organizations Trade Experiences. Chairman: Alex R. Thomas, Chairman, Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Government, San Antonio. Members:

Lucius E. Burch, Civic Research Committee, Memphis.
 Robert O. Hilty, President, Toledo Municipal League, Toledo, Ohio.
 Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Former President, League of Women Voters of Michigan.
 Clint W. Kanaga, Jr., President, Citizens Association, Kansas City.

(Continued on page 340)

All-America Jury Completed

One of the high points at the National Conference on Government, as usual, will be the proceedings before the All-America Cities Awards jury, in which finalists in the All-America competition will be judged. This is the seventh year of the contest.

Each year eleven cities from coast to coast in which embattled citizens organized and took action to put through a variety of civic improvements are honored with the All-America accolade.

The National Municipal League and *Look* magazine co-sponsor the contest.

A record 137 entries from 38 states have been received at League headquarters, 21 more than were received in 1954.

As in the last three years, Dr. George H. Gallup, president of the League and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, will be foreman of the distinguished jury which will listen to the stories of 22 finalists. As this issue of the REVIEW went to press, the finalists had not been chosen.

Other jurors are John B. Gage, former mayor, Kansas City, Missouri; Ewart W. Goodwin, president, Percy H. Goodwin Company, San Diego, and member, National Municipal League Council; Thomas Graham, president, The Bankers Bond Company, Louisville, and mem-



Dr. Henry Schmitz, president of the University of Washington, who is a member of the All-America Awards jury as well as honorary chairman of the Conference.

ber, National Municipal League Council; Mrs. Ruby C. Grant, president, Washington Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Puyallup, Washington.

Also Jack Kroll, director, CIO Political Action Committee; Harry J. Krusz, manager of internal affairs, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Mrs. Carol E. Miller, recording secretary, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Missoula, Montana; Vernon C. Myers, publisher, *Look* magazine, New York City; James M. Osborn, research associate, Yale University, and member, National Municipal League Council; Mrs. Ralph W. Rasmussen, League of Women Voters, Portland, Oregon; and Dr. Henry Schmitz, president, University of Washington, Seattle.



Thomas Graham

Ewart W. Goodwin

National Municipal Review

Volume XLIV, No. 6

June 1955

Published monthly except August by the National Municipal League

NEWS OF THE LEAGUE	285
Gallup, Childs, Langlie Speakers at Conference	285
EDITORIALS	290
An Honorable Estate	290
New Growth at 'Grass Roots'	291
HE DOCTORS SICK TOWNS	<i>William F. McDermott</i> 292
STATES ECLIPSE THE CITIES	<i>Thomas C. Desmond</i> 296
MAYOR STUMPS THE STATE	<i>William O. Winter</i> 301
 News in Review	
CITY, STATE AND NATION	<i>H. M. Olmsted, Editor</i> 307
1,199 Laws Passed in New York State	307
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP	<i>Victor Jones and William</i> <i>N. Cassella, Jr., Editors</i> 315
Baltimore County Charter Proposed	<i>John A. Donaho</i> 315
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION	<i>George H. Hallett, Jr., and</i> <i>Wm. Redin Woodward, Editors</i> 319
P. R. Repeal Bills Defeated	319
Tasmania Elects House of Assembly by P. R. . .	<i>George Howatt</i> 320
TAXATION AND FINANCE	<i>Wade S. Smith, Editor</i> 323
Washington Counties Revise Assessments	323
CITIZEN ACTION	<i>Elsie S. Parker, Editor</i> 326
Civic Groups Queried	326
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST	<i>William F. Larsen, Editor</i> 330
New York Reports to Its Citizens	330
BOOKS IN REVIEW	334

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, Carl H. Pforsheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Copyright 1955 by the National Municipal League. Subscription, \$5 per year; Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50; single copies 50 cents. The contents of the Review are indexed in *International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Editorial Comment

An Honorable Estate

"POLITICS" and "politician" are disturbing words. They relate to some of the most important and beneficent affairs of men. Yet as commonly used they often bear invidious connotations that have made many people think of them primarily as bad names.

The dictionary recognizes that the words have both good and bad flavors, depending on the context. For example, Webster's Dictionary says "politician" may mean "one versed or experienced in the science of government" or "more or less disparagingly, one primarily interested in political offices or their profits, as a mere *politician*." Similarly, "politics" may mean "the theory and practice of managing or directing the affairs of public policy or of political parties" or "in a bad sense, artful or dishonest management to secure the success of political candidates or parties."

In seeking to communicate with its readers, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW finds itself sometimes stigmatizing an act as "politically motivated" or denouncing "self-seeking politicians." In so making use of the common speech the REVIEW does not mean to disparage politics as an essential function of a self-governing society or impugn the morals or motives of all politicians. It would be just as wrong to let "politics" become exclusively a dirty word as to concede "democracy" to the Communists.

The truth is that modern man lives by politics as surely as he does by

economics. Indeed, more and more the health, perhaps even the survival, of the economy depends upon the acts as well as the self-restraints of politicians who help in making and executing public policies.

In any system of government everybody has a big stake in politics. In our system, politics is an important responsibility of every citizen. If the words "politics" and "politician" invariably have a sinister sound in the ears of a citizen, duty as well as self-interest call upon him to do something about it.

The constructive attitude toward this whole problem was well expressed by former National Municipal League President, Harold W. Dodds, in an address to students of Princeton University:

"You cannot rest content with abusing politicians as a class or with self-righteous condemnation of inefficiency, folly or corruption in public office. Rather, you should employ your talents and understanding to develop a climate of public opinion which will esteem political office as a high estate to which the most honorable and able should aspire. Keep clear of the all too common cynicism respecting politics. At times they do not give off a sweet perfume, I admit, but if so, whose fault is it? Don't be reluctant to join a political party and work for it, for the quality of our government cannot rise above the source of its energy, which is determined by the level of the political parties which supply the motive power."

New Growth at 'Grass Roots'

San Antonio News, Editorial, May 9, 1955

MANY San Antonians who enlisted earlier in the Citizens' Committee for Council-manager Government and more recently in the Good Government League, for combat on the reform side in the local political wars, no doubt were unaware that they were participating in a national postwar movement of great significance to American democracy.

Volunteer, amateur, cooperative citizen action to achieve political reforms, community projects and civic improvement generally is undoubtedly the most vital development in American self-government—or, rather, redevelopment—in many years.

In fact, quite an impressive shelf of "How to Do It Yourself" literature in that field has been filled in just the past five years. The latest is Elmore M. McKee's *The People Act* (Harper).

McKee tells the inspiring stories, in narrative form and with casts of everyday people who got up on their hind legs to get something done, of 11 of 38 communities earlier dramatized in an award-winning national radio series.

They range from Bat Cave, North Carolina, and Tin Top, Texas, to Seattle and Baltimore. And San Antonians who have been through the ten-year struggle to gain sound municipal government here can sympathize with their every frustration and relish their final victories.

McKee's bibliography lists a dozen community-action books published since 1950.

Two of the most helpful ones, we have found, are *Civic Victories* (Harper), by Richard S. Childs, the father of council-manager government, and *Guide to Community Action* (Harper), by Mark S. Matthews, who compiled a really remarkable sourcebook of aids for citizen volunteers bent on community progress and governmental reform.

San Antonio, in its up-and-down struggle for better city government, owes a large debt to many of the sources that Matthews cites.

Among them are the National Municipal League, whose Model Charter was followed closely; League of Women Voters, who concentrated on public education; and the Public Administration Service, which surveyed reorganizational problems.

NML pamphlets outlining effective procedures for organized civic action were influential in the formation of the successful Good Government League only a few months ago.

In other fields, the impact of national civic organizations, with or without local affiliates, has been felt in San Antonio affairs. Two that come to mind are the League of Women Voters' "Freedom Agenda," to popularize timely study of civil liberties, and the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, to stimulate group efforts to overcome the crisis in education.

The United Fund organization, just getting under way in San Antonio, is a step beyond the Com-

(Continued on page 329)

He Doctors Sick Towns

When local industries fail Dr. Poston moves in and aids in revival of community pride and civic action.

By WILLIAM F. McDERMOTT*

RICHARD W. POSTON is a 125-pound man with a ten-ton idea: that no community, however stagnant, divided or discouraged, need die of its woes. In five years this mild-mannered man of 40 has guided twenty ailing towns back to community pride and better government and on to new industries and employment for the youths who used to rush off to the cities. Right now, as director of the Department of Community Development of Southern Illinois University, he is working with several southern Illinois towns struggling to survive the wholesale closing of their coal mines.

"We've got to save our villages and towns," Poston asserts. "Strong communities that solve their problems make a nation strong. Anemic communities make a nation that is flabby. A nation can be no stronger than her parts."

A town that is typical of Poston's rejuvenation is Winlock, Washington, population 992. Winlock nearly died twice but now is prosperous and "bustin' out all over" with community spirit. A thriving logging town a generation ago, Winlock de-

clined as the timber supply was exhausted. Later, chicken farming gave it a few years' respite, then it hit the toboggan again. Stores and houses went unpainted, unrepaired pavements grew bumpy; inertia settled over the town like poison gas. It had begun to lose faith in itself.

In 1950 the businessmen of the town appealed to the University of Washington for help in attracting new industries. Poston, then head of the school's new Bureau of Community Development, visited Winlock. He told the citizens, "If you want to attract industry you must first perk up Winlock, make it progressive in appearance and spirit. Get rid of all pessimism, discords and jealousies, and go all out to make Winlock the best little town in the United States of America. Each of you must share in discussing town problems and in planning their solution. I can give you guidance, but you must do the job yourselves."

Winlock accepted Poston's challenge. Fifteen committees of volunteers began a study and analysis of local government, organizations, trades, services, sanitation, schools, beautification, recreation, social agencies, industrial problems, home conditions, law observance and health. They presented their findings in a series of 22 weekly town meetings. At each meeting the citizens broke up into groups of fifteen or twenty

*Mr. McDermott, social worker, ordained minister, lecturer and free-lance writer, was a reporter for the *Chicago Daily News* for 30 years, also acting as its religious editor. He is author of some four hundred articles appearing in leading magazines and now devotes his entire time to free-lance writing.

persons each, to draw up recommendations which were presented to the town meeting later for final judgment.

The first town meeting was slow motion—only 24 people showed up but they were a determined set. Ultimately two to three hundred turned out and the sessions often lasted until midnight. Citizens learned how to argue without coming to blows; to learn all the facts, pleasant or unpleasant, and to act accordingly.

Cemetery Project

Five months' research brought a demand for action. A project was sought—something tangible and dramatic, something people could do with their hands, every one sharing in the job. "It must be something the skeptics would say couldn't be done," Poston warned.

The decision was quick and unanimous: "Rejuvenate the graveyard!" The graveyard was Winlock's eyesore, its shame. Since 1908, spasmodic efforts to clean it up had failed. The six acres were a jungle; thickets of trees, vines and brambles and weeds made many sections almost impenetrable. Trash of all kinds had been dumped on the burial grounds. Scores of headstones had toppled over and broken. New burials were held only in places where the brush could be cleared or in a new addition.

An April Sunday was set for "Cemetery Day." On that morning some five hundred men, women and children showed up early with trucks, graders, power saws, brush burners and garden tools. There was an interlude for a prayer service. At noon

hot lunch was served from a community chuck wagon. Throughout the day brush fires burned high. Wagonloads of trash and junk were hauled away. Fallen tombstones were erected and cemented to their bases. Grave lots were spaded and seeded. By night the job was done.

After that it was "drive ahead!" for Winlock on a permanent, long-range program. Two hundred volunteers repainted Main Street buildings on "Paint the Downtown" day. In two years streets were improved, street lights installed, a new high school vocational-agricultural building erected. Adult education, health and recreation programs were started, a new doctor brought in, a 66-acre community park created, a community demonstration farm launched, and \$35,000 was raised for a new fire truck, expansion of city water lines and the purchase of a factory site. A new industry was secured from outside and three more developed from within, providing a hundred new jobs. Farm production and town business increased, school morale improved and churches were better attended. Aroused civic spirit had made a new community out of Winlock.

One project was to get out the vote at election time. A town meeting voted to give a Democratic banquet and have the Republicans serve it and a Republican banquet with the Democrats serving as cooks and waiters. Candidates presented their platforms and tape recordings played these speeches back at a later town meeting, so voters might hear both sides. It was a rugged, rollicking campaign—and 83 per cent of

Winlock's voters cast their ballots on election day. Since then the voting rate has continued high.

This kind of town self-analysis and self-initiated action is the key to rejuvenation, Poston has told the five hundred communities in America and in other lands which have solicited his advice. Unemployment, clannishness, corruption, smugness, friction, complaints, selfishness and like conditions may drive a community to stagnation, but when its people start putting themselves under the microscope they are spurred on by what they find and in action soon forget their differences.

Neglected Towns

One town was on the downgrade because a battle between two local organizations years before had so split the town that, even long after the issue itself had been forgotten, the community was unable to get together around any project.

Another town was sick because of its knockers. Visitors heard only complaints about the place, its government, its businessmen, its people. This caused an industrial scout to reject the town as a possible site for a factory branch.

A large concern was thinking of moving to a small city which had raw materials, railroad connections and a labor supply. The manager took his wife to look it over. She saw a shopworn business district, unpainted houses and unkempt yards, drab-looking stores. "I wouldn't live in this place if you gave it to me," she told her husband, and the community's chance for a new factory vanished.

It was a barber shop conversation between an ex-coal miner and an insurance agent that started Eldorado, Illinois, population 4,075, back to prosperity after the closing of coal mines had resulted in unemployment, the moving away of many families and frustration. "We ought to stop griping and get our people to work building up the town," said one man as the hair clippers hummed. The other agreed. The two buttonholed fellow citizens. A group appealed to Poston. He explained to them that their town would have to get a civic "new look" before it could attract industry. He prescribed his town self-study. The town meetings averaged four hundred people and fifteen hundred attended the closing session. Rehabilitation of the city hall—a long-time eyesore, a dirty, brick building that had been condemned for structural weakness—became the first project. Some ten thousand man-hours of donated skilled labor renovated and reconstructed the building; in one day three hundred volunteers scrubbed and painted it. The top floor was converted into a "Teen Town," with game rooms, soda bar, lounge, piano and equipment for year-round activities.

Then homes, business houses and the town spirit began cleaning themselves up. A unique goal was set—to make Eldorado the "City of Golden Daffodils"; three thousand bulbs were ordered from Holland for planting in parkways and gardens, with the aim of making the city a center of commercial daffodil production.

Sometimes a small city may be prosperous yet be missing something.

Under Poston's guidance, Port Angeles, Washington, discovered it had no housing for deserted, neglected or mistreated children taken into custody—302 such waifs had come in from a two-county area in the previous year. An abandoned fire station had been acquired by the PTA, but it wasn't in good condition. Labor and materials to rehabilitate it and furnishings for it were solicited. Then came "Fire Station" day. The old structure, repaired, scrubbed and decorated but empty, stood waiting. Hundreds gathered in the streets. There were brief speeches, then the big moment. Twelve trucks loaded with furnishings lumbered up to the entrance. Scores of workers carried in rugs, kitchen equipment, dining and living room furniture, beds, dressers, playpens, games, books and toys to the new "Children's Hall." In one and a half hours the new juvenile refuge was completely and attractively furnished.

The project served a deeper purpose—focusing Port Angeles' attention on conditions which made 302 children in that area victims of tragedy in a single year. A program of education for delinquent parents is under consideration by city and county authorities, churches, schools, welfare agencies and private citizens, so that eventually no Children's Hall would be needed.

Dick Poston didn't start out to be a doctor of towns. After studying forestry at Montana State University he worked as a fire guard in a national forest and, during the war, as a government investigator of subversives. Then one day he read of a Montana State University experiment

in rehabilitating small towns. It fascinated him. On his own he spent two years studying the project and produced a book, *Small Town Renaissance*.¹ Impressed by it, the University of Washington asked him to found its Bureau of Community Development. In three years he directed successful rejuvenation projects in fifteen Washington towns. In 1953 Southern Illinois University sought him to undertake "democracy in action" in an area of 31 counties.

Stimulate Civic Interest

Town decadence, as Poston sees it, results not only from unemployment and business stagnation but from a decline in civic interest. "Innumerable towns and small cities are declining because the people in them have ceased to take an active part in civic affairs," he told me. "The loss of community spirit, of the desire of the people to get together and thresh out their problems, results in factions and cliques which pull in opposite directions. Town meetings should be held in which everyone can express a frank opinion without getting into a free-for-all. Out of the exchange of ideas comes a home-grown program which is the best for everyone."

Delegations from Germany, Egypt, Pakistan, England, Korea, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries and others have studied Poston communities in action and see in them much of significance to themselves. Delegates have said they had had no realization of the full meaning of democracy, with people determining their own destiny.

(Continued on page 306)

¹Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950.

States Eclipse the Cities

Too many controls, legislator says, are stifling municipalities; he urges return to real home rule.

By THOMAS C. DESMOND*

A PERPLEXED councilman of a city in upstate New York telephoned me not long ago to ask, "What kind of pipes will the state let us use for our city sewers?"

Although I am chairman of the New York State Senate Committee on Affairs of Cities, I was unaware that the state regulates sewer pipes. Since the question was solemnly put, I answered, just as solemnly, that I would look into it. Inquiries at several state agencies turned up a sanitary engineer who informed me that his bureau in the State Health Department most certainly does have the power to approve or veto the use of various types of pipe by cities.

This is one example—and not a far-fetched one—of how our states keep a tight, often choking rein on our cities in a variety of matters, from sewer pipes to tax rates, from bond issues to hiring a stenographer for the fire commissioner.

This year 46 state legislatures

have held or are holding sessions, and headlines in newspapers across the country have echoed charges and countercharges of state and city officials on the issue of state control of municipal affairs. The clash between the city's desire—and need—for more self-government and the state's attempt to retain its dominant position over the city has once more been brought to the fore as a major problem of government. It is a major problem because although minor abuses by the states might be tolerated, when the states strangle local initiative, curb local responsibility, foist unnecessary expenses on local taxpayers and block new services needed in an age of urbanism, the cities have strong arguments for home rule.

What is the nature of the controls the states have over cities? How are they exercised? And what, specifically, are the results?

The controls are both legislative and administrative, and are applied and enforced in three ways. One is by passing laws that affect cities. Another is by judicial decisions. The third is by administrative curbs.

In theory the states can grant—or withhold—municipal home rule to any degree they wish. In practice they restrict home rule by enacting or not enacting laws—either special laws applying locally or so-called general laws containing restrictive

*Mr. Desmond, a retired engineer, has been a member of the New York State Senate since 1930 and is chairman of that body's Committee on Affairs of Cities. A delegate to several national Republican conventions, he is a life member of the Corporation (governing board) of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a former member of the Council of the National Municipal League and member of numerous other organizations devoted to politics and the public welfare. This article is reprinted, with permission, from the *New York Times Magazine* for April 24, 1955.

clauses aimed at certain cities. They can also do it by repealing or changing city charters. Like domineering mothers, the states refuse cities the right to run their own lives. Only 21 states make so much as a gesture toward granting some form of home rule to their cities, and even this is usually meaningless.

Thus, although cities have the right to elect their own officers and to carry out duties assigned to them by state legislatures, in most states they do not have the authority to determine their own form of government or the powers they may exercise. Many do not even have the right to choose which revenue sources they can tap to support local services.

Courts Rule Against Cities

The judicial form of control stems from the fact that the courts have repeatedly ruled against cities and for legislatures. Judges have denied cities any inherent right to self-government; cities are deemed the legal creatures of the state, with no powers except those granted by the state. Moreover, courts have ignored repeated evasions of constitutional prohibitions against laws applying to a single city.

As with legislative controls, so with administrative restrictions. States view the cities at best as irresponsible, unruly children capable of an amazing amount of mischief; therefore, they must be held to firm standards, if necessary by an occasional fiscal spanking. Today, nearly half the states force cities to follow state-prescribed budget systems and require periodic probes of city accounts, either by state agencies or

state-approved accountants. The feeling is: spare the regulations and spoil the city.

States do aid cities in various ways. One is by providing technical assistance. For example, Joseph Watkins, a career personnel technician in the New York Civil Service Department, works in city halls throughout the state to help install modern personnel procedures. He also keeps a sharp eye out for violations of the merit system by job-hungry politicians. When such services are voluntarily accepted by the localities, neither local responsibility nor home rule is violated. But many states attempt to impose efficiency and virtue by restrictive state legislation which does more harm than good.

Another way states aid cities is by financial contributions. One out of every five dollars of the annual income of our cities comes from the states. But unfortunately the grants are usually hedged with many restrictions. Moreover, the cities must depend upon the real estate tax, a relic of the eighteenth century, for two out of every three tax dollars.

The states, viewing the cities as competitors for the taxpayer's dollar, not only force cities to rely on the property tax but also tightly limit the amount they can raise from this source. They have refused municipal pleas for the right to impose a payroll or an income tax, or to levy or increase taxes on local utilities—although the states themselves levy such taxes for statewide use. This further shrinks the cities' tax base. In addition, legislatures often yield to pressure groups and pass laws that

force cities to raise the salaries of some categories of employees or to take on other fiscal burdens.

Thus, city officials, trapped between expensive demands for airports, roads, hospitals, schools or salary increases, and inadequate funds to pay the bills, are today walking a perilous economic tightrope. Yet in all the quarrels between cities and states, the cities usually have to battle with both hands tied behind their backs.

The net result of these methods of state control is that our cities must beseech legislators for their basic right to exist, to govern, to police their streets, to provide water for their people. Unless they obtain legislative authorization from the states, they cannot establish parking lots, regulate intracity buses, stop slaughterhouses from opening up in residential areas, or do any of a thousand things a modern city must do for its people.

How It Happened

The city dweller who is the victim of the system may wonder how state controls became so thoroughly clamped on municipal affairs. One reason was the powerful position which the states assumed at the beginning of our national history. After the Revolution the states inherited all the authority formerly held by royal governors. At that time the legislatures dominated both the executive and judicial branches of the state governments. The constitution later confirmed many of the powers the states had assumed under the confederation. But, in those early years, the efforts of state control

were not too onerous, for cities were small.

The cities' real troubles began with the growth of urbanism. As cities increased in size, political power passed from the farm to the tenement. The "city vote" became a prime target for ambitious politicians. Lawmakers discovered that more votes were usually to be gained by sponsoring local bills than by campaigning for even the most desirable statewide legislation. (In all state capitols, local bills are passed or killed on the basis of "legislative courtesy." Customarily no bill affecting a city will be introduced or voted down without advance approval of the legislator representing that community.)

This has led to a seeming paradox. The short-changing of cities by states is traditionally attributed to overrepresentation of rural areas in our legislatures. Yet the rural representatives are by and large disinterested and do not mix in city affairs. The worst offenders in the strangulation of cities by states are legislators from the cities. In New York State, for example, 45 out of 58 state senators either live or work in cities.

In the course of time the growth of urban political power in the legislatures raised, in practice, the local legislative delegations to the position of superior governing bodies over the municipal officials. Without the approval of the local legislators the city authorities were unable to carry out needed programs. This proved especially troublesome when the legislative delegation was of one party and the municipal officials were of another, or when the delegation be-

longed to the minority party in the legislature.

In the resulting stalemates the failure of cities to plan in advance to meet clearly emerging problems of traffic congestion, slum clearance and crime has created a recurring series of emergencies. Clutching at any straw, the cities have often turned to the states for what aid they can get. In addition, weak local officials have often evaded responsibility and passed on to the states the solution of sensitive issues. All of these factors have tended to put and keep the state in the driver's seat.

What, more specifically, is wrong with this system of state control over cities? In what ways does it harm the cities?

It has been argued in behalf of the system that the cities have brought some of their woes upon themselves. That is true. Corruption has been no stranger in city halls. To cite a minor but illuminating instance, one "H. Bell" was on Jersey City's payroll for years before someone discovered that he was a horse in the public works department and that a foreman had been collecting the "employee's" weekly pay check.

There have been many far greater municipal scandals. Yet cities are not as corrupt as some believe. William Embler, former deputy controller of New York State, informs me that the state's audit of the books of eight thousand localities every two years has disclosed remarkable official probity. Sums misappropriated in a recent year have totaled no more than \$7,800.

The main thing wrong with the state control system is that cities are

now too big and too complicated to have their affairs handled by outsiders who may not be as familiar as they should with city problems.

Half our people now live in cities with populations of 100,000 or more. Our cities have become giant diversified businesses, operating airports, hospitals and water plants. They are often the largest employers in their respective regions. They need freedom to regulate their growth and the increasing physical and social problems caused by their size.

Our cities have gained maturity. But instead of recognizing what they can and must do for themselves, the states continue to pass laws interfering with them, often for reasons of spite. Legislators can punish opposing cliques, grant concessions and act as benign overlords or petty tyrants.

Time and Effort Wasted

Another evil of the system is its waste of time and effort. Before my committee recently were bills to permit Poughkeepsie to sell some land it had acquired for hospital purposes and no longer needs, to authorize Ogdensburg to spend \$5,000 on publicity, to let Newburgh turn over a dead-end street to a factory that needs it to expand. In some legislatures hundreds of local bills, of no concern to anyone except the single sponsor, must be considered and passed at each session.

Even when states, out of the best of motives, substitute arbitrary regulations for local flexibility, the end result is often waste and sometimes danger. Because cities are required to accept "the lowest responsible bid" when buying material, they

must often purchase machinery from a distant source which cannot service it, rather than from a nearby source which can. There is no leeway, no discretion. Thus, some fire trucks in one city today carry different sets of hose connections to every fire because the lowest bidder on hose connections did not have connections to fit the fire hydrants in that city.

Another thing wrong with such strong state control is that lobbies can often use the state's power over cities to enrich themselves. For example, a bill was passed at the recent session of the New York legislature to require cities to equip each fire truck with two sets of gas masks of a type apparently made by only a few manufacturers. The bill, amazingly, had been passed twice before but was vetoed by Governor Dewey. Now it has been passed a third time.

What Is Solution?

What can be done to improve the state-city relationship? How can the cities gain some independence?

I do not propose that cities be cut loose to operate on their own. Local affairs are too intermingled with those of other levels of government for cities to become wholly autonomous. Arterial highways, control over courts, wage and hour regulations, annexation of land, war against communicable diseases—these are things which transcend local interest and call for state action. But if the delineation of state and local problems is difficult at times, it is hardly insuperable.

The standard should be this: what the states can do better than the cities should be done by the states;

what the states and cities can do best together should be done jointly; what the cities can do better than the states should be done by the cities.

There remains the problem of how to achieve this method of operation. Professor Rodney Mott of Colgate University outlined for the American Municipal Association three conditions necessary to obtain home rule: (1) lively public support, (2) aggressive leadership by state leagues of municipalities, and (3) a change in the attitude of judges.

In rotary clubs and chambers of commerce, in women's clubs and welfare organizations, our people will have to voice demands that the states yield their authority over the cities. A rallying point could be a demand for the simple requirement that in every case where states force new expenses upon cities, the states would have to indicate how the expenses are to be met and authorize new tax levies if required. This would be a powerful influence in imposing a sense of responsibility on legislatures.

In states where the people have the right of initiative and referendum the voters can place freedom clauses in state constitutions which the lawmakers would not be able to skirt. In other states the campaign will have to be waged in constitutional conventions or by frontal attacks on the legislatures.

At future sessions bills should be introduced to provide that cities shall have all powers that legislatures are legally capable of granting to cities—subject to reasonable limitations. This would serve immediately to broaden the area of home rule. In

(Continued on page 306)

Mayor Stumps the State

Meets legislators to explain St. Louis' financial plight and need for action to save earnings tax.

By WILLIAM O. WINTER*

THE mayor leaned forward in his chair, both hands out, to emphasize his point. "It won't be easy," he said, "but I know of no other way to go about it. Only the legislature can save us now. We must let them know what a fix we're in, and I have got to tell them."

And thus began one of the most unusual attempts in decades to carry the troubles of a great city to the only place where aid could be gotten—the state legislature. Pundits might have insisted that failure was a certainty. Wasn't the legislature dominated by the farmers? Wasn't the governor, who must call a special session, unconcerned about the city's needs?

If failure was in his mind, the mayor gave no evidence of it. He had a good case; a rational man, he would approach the members of the legislature with logic. He had enough faith in democratic processes to be sure calm persuasion would win.

It was the autumn of 1953. The unusual event was no more interesting than the unusual man. Raymond R. Tucker had assumed the rank of first citizen of St. Louis by no ordinary means. Formerly a college professor, having taught civil engineer-

ing at Washington University, he had come of a profession that does not frequently spawn successful politicians. Not that he was a neophyte in politics. Learning from his father the fundamentals of the great game, he was politically active in his ward even as a young man. He served variously as secretary to one mayor, advisor to another, smoke commissioner and director of the department of public safety.

Independent by nature, Tucker was a maverick in his own party, unloved by the party leadership, ignored by the ward heelers. Worst of all, he was a reformer. In the late 1930s, when St. Louis was choking itself to death in smoke and smog, he helped the citizens' smoke abatement committee find a solution to the problem and embody that solution in a city ordinance.

Again, when the city needed a new charter, Tucker was chairman of the board of freeholders that drew it up and presented it to the people. That was in 1950 and the people voted the charter down. Oddly enough, the central issue in 1950 was the same as the one in the autumn of 1953—the city's earnings tax.

The mayor's fortunes seemed fixed to the earnings tax. But then, so were the fortunes of the city itself—and had been since 1947.

With the end of World War II, demands for expansion of services in

*Dr. Winter is assistant professor in the Department of Government at Southern Illinois University. Formerly with the University of Missouri, he is author of several pamphlets and a contributor to various magazines in the political science field.

St. Louis grew incessantly. Inflation of the currency was causing radical price increases in the materials used by the city; the soaring cost of living required sharp wage and salary increases for the city's 11,000 employees.

Periodic Trouble

At the same time that expenditures were increasing, income was lagging. The property tax, historically the basic element of the city's tax structure, was overburdened. Hemmed in by inflexible corporate boundaries, the city could not annex territory to absorb wealthy suburbs and rich new industrial and commercial developments. Excise taxes, such as those levied on gasoline and cigarettes, could not be raised further without the risk of driving business out of the city.

During the war years the city's income ran comfortably ahead of expenditures, and a tidy surplus was accumulated. But this nest-egg now had to be thrown into the municipal omelet to satisfy inflationary hunger.

Something had to be done, and quickly. The city council passed an earnings tax ordinance and Mayor Aloys P. Kaufmann signed the bill. The new tax was a levy of one-fourth of one per cent on the gross earnings of individuals and the net profits of corporations. It applied to residents and non-residents alike. The latter, however, were liable only for income earned within the city.

No permissive state legislation gave St. Louis the power to have such a tax, but the city felt secure. The city charter gave the board of aldermen general power to tax and the city fathers had confidence that

the courts would uphold the earnings tax as a legitimate exercise of home rule power.

That confidence was sadly misplaced. Immediately challenged in the courts, the ordinance was held invalid on the grounds that no authority for the earnings tax was to be found either in charter or statute.¹

After this decision the city began a long struggle with the Missouri legislature to get continuing legislative authority for the earnings tax. Three times the legislature passed permissive legislation, and each time the city met with partial defeat—the authorization always had a terminal date fixed in it. A grant of continuing power seemed beyond the city's grasp.

The first ordinance under state legislative authorization, which levied a tax of one-half of one per cent, became effective in September 1948 and lapsed in July 1950, on the terminal date of the permissive statute. Again in 1952 an earnings tax bill cleared the legislature and the city council passed an ordinance effective in September 1952. Both statute and ordinance were attacked in the courts; they were upheld by a unanimous State Supreme Court.² The case was appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court on the grounds that statute and ordinance violated the due process and equal protection clauses of the fourteenth amendment. Once again the city won its case.³

¹*Carter Carburetor Corporation v. City of St. Louis*, 356 Mo. 646, 203 S.W. (2nd) 438, 1947.

²*Walters v. City of St. Louis*, 259 S.W. (2nd) 377, 1953.

³347 U.S. 231 (1954).

But crisis had not been killed off; it was only held at arm's length. The third statute of authorization was to terminate on April 1, 1954.

Early in 1953 the city went again to the legislature to ask for extension of the earnings tax authorization beyond the 1954 deadline. The city's bill came to grief in the Senate; non-residents were exempt from the tax in the proposed legislation and the city refused to sponsor it further.

The city was sailing on a tack that led straight into shoal water; inaction would certainly mean that the vessel would go aground. But there was now a man at the helm who was not content with inaction. He brought out rule and compass and began plotting a new course.

The first and most obvious thing to do was to petition the governor for a special session of the legislature, so Mayor Tucker entrained for Jefferson City. The governor listened, the mayor thought sympathetically, but he would not commit himself.

The governor, in fact, had interests that impressed him far more than St. Louis' needs. A paralyzing drouth was visiting the state and the farmers were in distress. Since federal disaster relief had been insignificant, the state felt compelled to act. Quite suddenly a call went out to the legislators to return to Jefferson City. To the bitter disappointment of the city the call mentioned only drouth relief.

Mayor Tucker pressed his demands for another special session. The governor finally indicated that he would act upon the request, but only if members of the legislature

showed an interest in the city's problems. The mayor and his advisors decided that their future had been settled for them: they must go out among the legislators, meet them face to face and explain the city's plight.

Stumping the State

"Through no fault of his own," the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* editorialized, "the mayor had to spend more of his first year in office as a legislative lobbyist than as a man in the mayor's chair."⁴ In fact, he was both lobbyist and stump speaker.

The campaign got off to a good start in the early autumn of 1953. Former Mayor Kaufmann, under whose administration the first earnings tax ordinance had been passed, agreed to accompany Mayor Tucker. This was especially important, since Kaufmann is a Republican and Tucker is a Democrat. Their being together on the same platform would clearly show the bipartisan sentiment back of the city's desire to get permanent earnings tax legislation.

Beginning in September and continuing into December, the tour covered 1,800 miles. Eleven meetings were held from one end of the state to the other. Legislators living within easy driving distance of each city where a meeting was to be held were invited to be the city's guests at a luncheon.

The meetings usually lasted about three hours and all were of about the same pattern. Mayor Tucker first gave a brief talk; Kaufmann would add a few remarks; then the mayor would ask for questions or comments.

⁴April 23, 1954, page 2 B.

Three out of four of Missouri's legislators attended the meetings. Although they asked many pointed questions, on the whole they were friendly. Most of them seemed to be genuinely interested in informing themselves of the facts and many were obviously flattered that the mayor of a great city would make this effort to enlist their cooperation.

Mayor Confident

At the end of their tour the mayor and his party were confident that should the governor call a special session the earnings tax authorization would be extended. "Many times in the past," said the mayor in a statement to the press, "I have heard that rural members of the state assembly have been responsible for the defeat of St. Louis legislation. . . . After talking with them, I have come to the conclusion that the failure may have been on the part of St. Louis in not taking the time to explain our problems to them and making ourselves available to answer their questions."⁶

The next move was up to the governor, but once again he was playing his cards close to his vest. Drouth relief was still closest to his heart and the six and a half millions appropriated by the special session in the autumn of 1953 was rapidly being expended. Thus he had not only the demands of St. Louis to consider but also those of the farmers and of many other groups.

Early in 1954 the governor called another special session. The earnings tax was on the legislative agenda and interested observers thought that

here at last was a test of the mayor's effectiveness in influencing the legislature.

Meeting late in February, the legislature proceeded to tie itself into knots. Of primary concern was drouth relief and each party was determined to show the farmer that it was his best friend. To make matters worse for St. Louis, the earnings tax got mixed up in partisan wrangling.

Struggling for position, Democrats and Republicans spent time lavishly and without noticeable benefit. On April 1 the earnings tax authorization lapsed and St. Louis was again without its precious levy.

The legislators struggled through the first weeks of April. An earnings tax bill finally got through the Senate but on April 20, with only four more days left of the special session, the House defeated the Senate version. Within hours the House proponents of the tax launched a counter-attack and carried the proposal to victory.

In St. Louis the lights went on again in city hall, the newspapers cheered, and the leaders of both parties congratulated themselves and the city on their success.

A battle was won; the war, however, still went on. For the third time the legislature had refused to give the earnings tax to the city permanently. The new authorization would extend only until April 1955, unless the people by referendum approved the local tax ordinance, and even then it would extend only until April 1957.

The principal reason for the city's requesting permanent authorization

⁶St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, November 29, 1953, page 6 C.

for the earnings tax was to enable it to plan intelligently for the future. If the legislature would not give it such authority, it must confer that authority upon itself by amending the city charter. But there were certain risks in this.

Amending the Charter

When the Missouri Supreme Court over-ruled the first earnings tax ordinance in 1947, it considered only whether the ordinance was allowable under the charter as it was then constituted. The court had not decided whether an earnings tax amendment to the charter would be constitutional and some doubt existed on that question.

The new legislation removed that doubt. The act provided that if St. Louis, prior to April 15, 1957, were to amend its charter to provide for an earnings tax, then any ordinance passed under the charter amendment would be valid.⁶ In effect, therefore, a city could pass an earnings tax amendment to its charter secure in the knowledge that the arguments in the Carter Carburetor case could not be used against it.

But for Tucker and his associates another problem remained—would the voters of the city approve an earnings tax? In 1950 a new charter had been turned down by the people and the opposition to it had concentrated on the earnings tax provision in the taxing article.

The only way to know how the people would react to the question

was to present it to them. The city council, therefore, proposed an amendment which would allow the city by ordinance to levy an earnings tax not to exceed one-half of one per cent on the gross income of individuals and the net income of corporations and other businesses.

In the campaign to impress the voters with the necessity for the tax very little was left to chance. Under the aegis of a nonpartisan committee appointed by the mayor the city was organized carefully and systematically—so completely, in fact, that those opposed to the charter amendment have since claimed they had no chance to present their point of view. This was not the first time, indeed, that a citizens' committee had come to the fore in such a crisis. The Citizens' Tax Committee in 1947 and the Citizens' Finance Committee in 1952-53 had been instrumental in getting favorable action on the earnings tax.

Every important segment of the community was represented on the citizens' committee of 1954. Both metropolitan newspapers treated the issue as one of the year's major news items and both supported the proposition. Much was made of the serious crisis that loss of earnings tax income, about \$8,000,000 annually, would cause the city. One other theme was constantly reiterated: non-residents pay the tax. They use city services; it was only just to ask them to help pay for them.

Supporters of the amendment were mildly optimistic over its chance for passage, even though a 60 per cent majority of those voting was required. No one, apparently, antici-

⁶Senate Bill No. 3, *Laws of Missouri 1953* (Second Extraordinary session, 1954). The bill actually provided thus for home rule cities over 700,000 in population. St. Louis is the only such city in Missouri.

pated a landslide. But a landslide it was. At the special election of September 30, 1954, the amendment passed by a six-to-one majority.

And so the job is done; a rewarding job, though not an easy one. St. Louis has achieved financial well-being and discovered a municipal statesman. In the words of an editorial writer for a crusading newspaper, the city is in "the mood for progress and reform. Mayor Tucker has only to lead the way."⁷

STATES ECLIPSE THE CITIES

(Continued from page 300)

addition, cities should be granted the power to draft and amend their own charters.

Not all public action, however, should be aimed at the states. The "buck-passers" on the local city councils who, when confronted with a politically hot issue, leave responsibility to the states, must be shown that the voters will not tolerate such supine behavior.

In the free association of cities the municipalities have opportunities to develop standards and employ experts without domination by the states. State leagues of municipalities need to be strengthened to bolster technical services available to cities and to withstand state intrusion. There is no basic need for conflict. The well-being of the states and cities depends upon the vitality and integrity of both.

⁷St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, October 1, 1954, page 2 D.

But the best argument of all for home rule is the well run city. Home rule should be earned by demonstrated capacity to govern. As long as graft and incompetence are found in city halls the states will have an excuse to justify their tight control over cities.

The American Municipal Association's "Credo of the American Mayor" states: "We believe that the principle of municipal independence carries with it the obligation to face our own problems, to meet our responsibilities, to finance our own enterprises within the limit of local resources and consistent with practical economic and social factors." Here is expressed the spirit of responsibility which can win home rule and make it a means of progress.

HE DOCTORS SICK TOWNS

(Continued from page 295)

Poston hopes to establish at Southern Illinois University a town rehabilitation training program for college students. Meanwhile any community can develop its own program of rejuvenation. Any individual or group may start it. Poston has set out his techniques in his book, *Democracy Is You*.²

"Once the townspeople go into this sort of thing they are thrilled and awakened," Poston says. They resent any one else telling them what's wrong with them, but they act fast when they find out for themselves.

²Harper & Brothers, New York, 1953.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

1,199 Laws Passed in New York State

Ten New Amendments Referred to Voters

IN A controversial session, with party rivalries accentuated by the state's having a Democratic governor, the Republican-controlled New York legislature left a mixed record. It adopted 1,199 bills—144 more than last year—and left 975 for Governor Harriman to sign or veto in the 30-day period ending May 2. Notable accomplishments, listed by the Citizens Union of New York City, include:

The Court Commission's bill to establish a State Judicial Conference for administrative control of all courts. A premature move to create more judgeships before other improvements are tested was defeated.

The Court Commission's program for combatting juvenile delinquency, with bills to set up a Youth Division in the State Correction Department, to authorize and pay for work camps for delinquent boys, and to make a start on state aid for more probation officers and their training. A bipartisan conference was established, to work out a wider program for meeting the delinquency challenge.

Approval of state and city loans and subsidies to private sponsors for middle-income housing, with a referendum in November to authorize use of part of the state's housing bond money for this purpose.

Extension of the ban on discrimination in publicly aided housing to future FHA financed projects. Continuance of residential rent controls in New York City and in various other parts of the state—but with an "inconsistent patchwork of

controls, decontrols, home rule powers and mandates" as to the upstate area.

Extension of unemployment insurance to 350,000 additional workers, employed in groups of two or three, and increase of maximum benefit to \$36 a week.

Granting New York City permanent instead of temporary taxing powers, including up to 2½ per cent of full valuation of real estate.

Legal approvals necessary for construction and operation of the large bridge and highway program of the New York Port Authority and the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, with various controls by New York City.

Combining the two primaries before next year's presidential election into one, on June 5. This may presage a permanent June primary.

Constitutional Amendments

The legislature passed for the second time and referred to the people at the November election ten proposed constitutional amendments. They are briefly:

To authorize state borrowing of \$750,000,000 for a vast highway program, the debt to be serviced by higher gasoline and diesel oil taxes.

To increase from \$25,000,000, to \$34,000,000 the maximum amount of annual housing subsidies for interest and amortization of housing bonds.

To permit absentee voting by persons prevented by sickness or physical disability from going to the polls.

To permit the legislature to allow a city to contract debt for sewage disposal or drainage purposes in excess of its own needs, thus making it possible for adjoining communities to use such facilities on a contract basis.

To exclude from a municipality's debt limit bonds for sewage collection or disposal.

To authorize the legislature to make the state controller a member of the Board of Equalization.

To permit the Black River Regulating District to construct a dam in the state forest preserve—heretofore forbidden by the constitution.

To extend the constitutional provision barring certain classes of judges from holding other public office.

To permit county judges outside of New York City to sit in other counties during the temporary illness of a judge, and to authorize the governor to appoint a temporary judge for a 90-day period, renewable four times.

To authorize the governor to make temporary appointments in cases of illness of judges in New York City.

An amendment urged by Governor Harriman would have allowed counties to draft and adopt their own charters. This died in the Assembly rules committee.

The legislature approved a proposed amendment to legalize bingo. Approval by the next legislature is necessary before it can go to the voters.

Arizona Legislature Enacts 138 Laws, 3 Amendments

Arizona cities and counties won permission from the first regular session of the 1955 Arizona legislature to increase their public works reserve tax fund levy from 25 to 38 cents per \$100 valuation. They failed, however, to persuade the legislature to restore the annexation procedure existing before 1954, when the legislature made annexation more difficult by requiring annexation petitions to be signed by at least 50 per cent of the holders of personal property, by value, as well as by the traditional 50 per cent of the real property holders. Arizona cities, particularly Phoenix and Tucson, urged the excision of the personal property requirement because of the difficulty of ascertaining the value of personal

property owned by public utilities and railroads in areas to be annexed. The defeat of the bill is attributed in part to opposition of the railroads and mining interests.

The legislature passed a total of 138 laws and initiated three constitutional amendments, out of a total of 501 bills and proposed amendments which were introduced. Governor Ernest McFarland vetoed but one bill, on the ground of unconstitutionality.

A law establishing a formula for determining the value of private utility companies in condemnation suits was enacted after representatives of municipalities and private water companies of the state reached agreement on its substance. Arizona cities have favored a more definite rule for fixing value since the legislature last year passed a law which forbids them from extending their utility services to new annexations until they have acquired the facilities of any private company serving the areas.

The new law states that the compensation paid a private utility shall include "the fair and equitable value of the plant, system and business taken including its value as a going concern and the actual and consequential damages, if any, sustained by the plant, system and business of the public service company not . . . taken by reason of its severance from the plant, system and business to be taken."

Despite their acceptance of the law, municipalities entertain some fears that the inclusion of "going concern" value in the formula may result in unduly high appraisals if the courts fix the going concern value on utility revenues, derived from a rate of return based on valuations established for rate-making purposes.

Municipalities and counties were authorized to enter into agreements with school districts or other municipalities for the construction, development and co-operative maintenance and operation of parks, swimming pools and other recrea-

tional facilities on public school property. School districts, however, may not make expenditures for the construction and development of these facilities. The permissive legislation was particularly sought by Pima County, which plans to install swimming pools on the grounds of two new high schools to be constructed in the Tucson fringe area. According to estimates, cooperation will halve the cost of the facilities.

In the field of civil rights the legislature enacted a limited fair employment practice measure which forbids state and local government and public contractors to refuse to employ or to discharge any person because of national origin, an expression which the law interprets as including race, religion, color and ancestry. The same employers are enjoined against discriminating against any employee with respect to his tenure, promotion, pay or other conditions of employment because of national origin.

Several changes were made in the state election laws. In the future write-in candidates in primary elections, to win nomination for office, must receive a number of votes at least equal to the number of signatures required on nominating petitions for the office. Another law eliminates the requirement that bars be closed during municipal elections. Qualified voters who apply for absentee ballots because of illness or physical disability no longer need to present a physician's certificate in support of their applications. Persons whose religious beliefs keep them away from the polls on the day of a primary, general or special election will be permitted to vote by absentee ballot.

To assist the local school districts with their rapidly growing enrollments, the legislature increased state aid for the districts from \$95 to \$127 per pupil in average daily attendance and county aid from \$20 to \$30.50.

The three constitutional amendments

initiated by the legislature, for final action by the voters at the next general election, would give the legislature authority to make state boundary changes, subject to the approval of Congress; would exempt foreign exchange teachers from the provision of the state constitution which stipulates that only citizens can be paid from state funds; and would relieve the stockholders of state banks from double liability.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Alaska Legislature Aids Municipalities

The League of Alaskan Cities reports that the 22nd Alaska legislature, which adjourned on March 22, passed the largest number of bills affecting municipalities in the legislative history of the territory. Some of these were in furtherance of the league's program for enabling acts, which can save much time heretofore devoted to local affairs by the legislators. A few outstanding new laws are described as follows:

Local Government Cooperation—Authorizes any government unit to delegate any function to another local government unit; permits joint exercise of mutual functions and joint contracting of functions. (The immediate purpose is to permit cities and school districts to arrange for joint tax assessment and collection.)

Membership, Travel, etc.—Authorizes cities and city officials to belong to professional or other organizations, including the League of Alaskan Cities; authorizes travel by city officials and their appearance before legislative, administrative and other bodies.

Consolidation of Cities—Permits consolidation of adjacent cities by council action and vote of the people in each city.

Parking—Grants cities authority to acquire, develop and operate off-street and other parking facilities; provides alter-

nate means of financing, including revenue bonds; permits direct city operation, establishment of authorities or arrangements with private enterprise.

Urban Renewal—Extends to cities full authority under the housing act of 1954 for slum clearance and for prevention of blight; based on new HHFA model act. Previously all slum clearance and redevelopment projects had to be handled through the Alaska Housing Authority.

Constitutional Convention—Provides for the calling of a constitutional convention in November 1955, in anticipation of statehood legislation by Congress.

Tennessee Facilitates Municipal Annexations

After a long period beset by many obstacles to annexation of additional territory, Tennessee municipalities have achieved a simple, direct method under a law passed by the 1955 legislature and recently signed by Governor Clement.

Under the prior general statute, adopted in 1875, a municipality could not initiate the annexation process. This could only be done by residents of an area seeking to be annexed, and the process was difficult if not unworkable. As a result, annexations were usually by special law, but a 1953 constitutional amendment prohibited such special legislation.

Commending the new Tennessee statute to its members, the Alabama League of Municipalities, in its *Municipal Journal*, says:

"In the face of this crisis the Tennessee Municipal League successfully sponsored legislation to establish a simple and direct method of annexation." Basically the new bill authorizes the governing body of a municipality to annex territory by ordinance. If no protest is made, the annexation becomes effective 30 days from the date of the ordinance. "At any time during this period any property owner in the area to be annexed may petition the courts to determine whether

or not the annexation is reasonable in view of the situation which exists. If the court determines that it is not reasonable the resolution declaring the annexation is vacated by court order, but if it upholds the ordinance the annexation becomes effective as scheduled. . . .

"This method of annexation originated in Virginia, but in recent years it has been adopted by thirteen other states."

The statute also provides for a referendum method under which, according to the Tennessee State Planning Commission, the city, when petitioned by interested persons or upon its own initiative, adopts a resolution proposing the extension of its limits. Not less than 30 nor more than 60 days after the publication of the resolution and its being posted in the city and the affected area, an election must be held in the latter, at the city's expense. If a majority of those voting at the election choose annexation it becomes operative 30 days after certification of the election. The city may also submit the question to its own residents.

Montana Creates Second Reorganization Commission

The Montana legislature has adopted a bill to establish a temporary twelve-member commission on reorganization of state government. A similar "Little Hoover" commission in 1951 prepared a substantial reorganization program and secured the enactment of its major recommendations.¹ The new commission is made up of six senators appointed by the Senate's committee on committees and six representatives appointed by the speaker of the House. They are divided equally between Democrats and Republicans. The body is to study the state government and make recommendations, by December 31, 1956, for the consolida-

¹See the REVIEW, January 1953, page 34; May 1953, page 236.

tion, reorganization or abolition of departments and functions. It will also review the entire tax structure of the state. An appropriation of \$40,000 is provided.

Pennsylvania Governor Given Reorganization Powers

Wide powers to reorganize state agencies at the bureau level have been granted to Governor George M. Leader in a bill passed by the Pennsylvania legislature and signed by the governor on April 9. The bill was a top administration measure and was adopted over Republican opposition.

Plans to reorganize a department or bureau can be sent by the governor to both legislative houses and will appear on the calendar in the form of a resolution, without committee action. Approval or disapproval will be indicated by a constitutional majority vote of 26 senators and 106 representatives. If neither house takes action within 30 days, the changes become effective immediately.

Ten independent state agencies are excluded from the law.

Idaho to Vote on Gubernatorial Succession

The Idaho legislature has approved a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to allow unlimited succession in the office of governor. The state constitution does not now permit the governor to succeed himself, according to *State Government*, which reports that the amendment will be submitted to the voters at the 1956 general election.

214 Special Studies Ordered by 1954 Legislatures

As reported in *State Government*, a total of \$2,307,232 was appropriated by the 1954 legislatures for interim investigations by specially created interim committees and commissions. A total of 177

such studies was authorized. In addition the legislatures assigned 37 studies to legislative councils and during the 1954 sessions appropriated \$784,758 to them, making a combined total of \$3,091,990 for legislative research.

Four appropriations for legislative councils were for the 1954-55 fiscal year. Another four were for the 1954-56 fiscal biennium. The exact funds available to the newly created New Jersey Law Revision and Legislative Services Commission had not been determined.¹

Kentucky Highway Authority Outlawed by Court

The Kentucky Court of Appeals has held unconstitutional the state highway authority created by a 1954 statute to provide a means of financing an accelerated road program by the issuance of long-term revenue bonds. It was ruled that the plan under which the authority operates would violate the constitutional debt limit of \$500,000.

Washington Amendment Would Deter I. and R.

Initiative and referendum propositions in the state of Washington will be somewhat discouraged if a proposed constitutional amendment, passed by the legislature, is approved at the general election. At present 50,000 valid signatures on an initiative petition are required to bring it to popular vote and 30,000 on a referendum petition. The amendment would require that signatures for an initiative be equal to at least 8 per cent of the last vote for governor. A referendum would require at least 4 per cent. Based on the 1952 election this would mean about 86,000 signatures for an initiative petition and 43,000 for a referendum.

¹See the REVIEW, February 1955, page 90.

Rhode Island Legislature Defeats Home Rule Efforts

The Rhode Island legislature, the 1955 session of which closed April 30, failed for the third successive year to pass a bill which specifies certain home-rule powers for all cities and towns. This act would apply particularly to the cities and towns that have not adopted home rule charters. It would clarify and implement the home rule amendment.

The legislature provided for a referendum vote early in June on the question of calling a limited constitutional convention but failed to include among the subjects to be considered an amendment that would clearly set forth the right of the people of the cities and towns to provide for their own local elections. The only subjects included are redevelopment powers for cities and towns, tenure of judges and increased pay for legislators.

A bill to raise the governor's salary from \$15,000 to \$25,000, with smaller increases for four other state offices, was passed but was vetoed by Governor Roberts, who opposed salary increases during a term for which an official has been elected.

Efforts to validate the election procedures of the new home rule charter of East Providence (population 36,000) were unsuccessful. This community adopted the council-manager plan and voted to become a city at the 1954 general election. The charter calls for nonpartisan, off-year local elections but the State Supreme Court has ruled (in a similar Pawtucket case) that only the legislature can provide for elections. Legislation designed to put the charter's election provisions into effect exactly as the people approved them was introduced early in the session. It was allowed to die as the legislative session closed.

As a result the new East Providence council-manager charter cannot go into

effect as scheduled. The charter called for the first election in April 1955. A provision of the charter, anticipating such a possibility, says the first election under the charter can be held at the 1956 general election if the General Assembly fails to provide for the election the people wanted.

The situation will be even further confused, however, because the existing election laws call for the election of nine councilmen while the new charter provides for a council of five members.

Council-manager Plan Developments

The city council of DALY CITY, CALIFORNIA, (1950 population 15,191) unanimously adopted an ordinance establishing the council-manager plan, effective March 31. The manager is made the administrative head of the government; he appoints and removes all city officers and employees except the clerk, treasurer and attorney.

PRINCETON, ILLINOIS, (1950 population 5,765) adopted the council-manager plan at the city election on April 19 by a vote of 1,231 to 955. It supplants a nonpartisan commission form of government. The new plan does not affect the election of the commission.

JESUP, GEORGIA, (4,605) on April 27 adopted a charter amendment providing for the council-manager plan by a vote of 383 to 206. The plan will go into effect January 1, 1956.

LOUISBURG, NORTH CAROLINA, (2,545) by a vote of 378 to 230 on May 3, adopted the council-manager plan.

ARDSLEY, NEW YORK, (1,744) in Westchester County adopted the village manager plan at the municipal election on March 15 by a vote of 429 to 182.

In MASSACHUSETTS the State Senate rejected a bill providing that the councilman polling the most first-choice votes in Plan E cities (council-manager with

He Asked Wrong Mayor for Anti-manager Advice

DECATUR, ILL. (U.P.)—Mayor Paul Egan of Aurora, Illinois, wanted some advice on "how to beat" the city manager plan when he wrote to Mayor Robert E. Willis of Decatur.

Egan congratulated Willis on the defeat of the plan at a referendum here. He wanted advice on "how to do the same thing when it comes up at Aurora."

Mayor Willis was one of the plan's strongest supporters in the local referendum.

Tampa *Sunday Tribune*, April 17, 1955.

proportional representation) would become mayor if the council developed a deadlock in voting for a mayor. The bill had passed the House over the opposition of several Worcester legislators. It was also opposed by the *Worcester Telegram* and various others.

In BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT, the Association for a Council-manager Charter and other supporters of the plan have been collecting signatures to petitions for a referendum on a council-manager charter in November.

In ABBEVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA, the city council has accepted a report of a special committee recommending that the council be reduced from eight to four and that a city manager be employed. A petition for a referendum on such a charter amendment was expected to be circulated.

In LAKE CITY, FLORIDA, a citizens' committee appointed to study the public utility problem has recommended adoption of the council-manager plan in case the city decides to have its own electric power plant. It stated that many Flori-

da cities operate their own power systems at a profit and in each case have a city manager.

BELLEFONTAINE, OHIO, defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 2,383 to 860 on May 3.

SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN, voted on April 5 to retain the manager plan, 6,985 to 4,480.

GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN, defeated a council-manager proposal on April 5, 10,910 to 7,620. Similar proposals have previously been defeated by much heavier margins.

ASHLAND, WISCONSIN, voted 1,720 to 1,707 on April 5 to abandon the manager plan in effect since 1948. Because of the narrow margin a recount was considered possible. Two advocates of the plan led the field in the election of the city council.

In the village of LANSING, ILLINOIS, petitions bearing 1,318 signatures, seeking a referendum on adopting the council-manager plan, were filed with the clerk of the Cook County Court on April 13.

SALEM, ILLINOIS, defeated a council-manager proposal on April 19 by a vote of 1,350 to 1,022.

Petitions calling for a special election on adopting the manager plan have been circulated in CLINTON, IOWA.

Two cities recently reported in this column as defeating council-manager proposals were inadvertently placed in the wrong states. They are COLLINSVILLE, ILLINOIS, given as in Missouri (page 201, April) and GREAT BEND, KANSAS, given as in Indiana (page 259, May).

CLARK, SOUTH DAKOTA, voted 332 to 184 on April 19 to abandon the council-manager plan, in effect since 1912.

Petitions calling for a vote on abandonment of the manager plan in HUTCHINSON, KANSAS, were found not to have sufficient valid signatures. Only 794 of 1,631 names proved to be valid signatures of registered voters; 1,196 were neces-

sary. Hutchinson adopted the plan in 1947.

HOXIE, KANSAS, defeated a council-manager proposal on April 5 by a vote of 258 to 126. MULVANE, KANSAS, did likewise, 217 to 69.

CHANDLER, OKLAHOMA, which has had a council-manager charter since 1925, adopted a new and modernized charter for the same plan, by a vote of 379 to 196 on April 5.

In Provo, UTAH, a citizens' committee is conducting a campaign for adoption of a council-manager charter.

A movement for adoption of the council-manager plan has developed in KLAMATH FALLS, OREGON. Diamond Flynn, of Medford, president of the League of Oregon Cities, spoke in favor of the plan at a meeting on April 15.

WATSONVILLE, CALIFORNIA, defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 1,875 to 1,706, on May 9.

The International City Managers' Association reports eight meetings of managers in various states in March and April: 22 managers from Colorado, Nebraska and Utah met at the University of Colorado on March 31-April 2; 25 Illinois managers attended the second Illinois Managers' Institute at Monticello, April 22-23; 6 Kentucky managers met in Lexington on April 13; 13 Massachusetts managers met in Newton on March 31; 10 Minnesota managers met in Minneapolis March 28-29; 6 Nebraska managers met in Lincoln on April 15; 37 North Carolina managers met in

Greensboro March 12-13; and 8 Tennessee managers held an organization meeting in Knoxville on April 15.

Detroit Voters Abolish Constables

At an election in Detroit on April 5, voters adopted a charter amendment finally abolishing the office of constable. Incumbents have had nothing to do since last summer, when the last court from which they received regular assignments switched to a bailiff system. The vote on the amendment was 137,451 to 60,265.

89 Available for Manager Internships

The International City Managers' Association, in the course of its work in listing men who desire to become assistants or interns in the offices of city managers in the hope of moving on to city managerships, reports that 89 young men in twenty universities will receive Master's degrees in public administration this spring and will be available for internships.

Its roster, in addition, lists 65 other aspirants who have been out of school a year or more.

An important percentage of managers in the larger cities now provide internships for such aspirants and many have graduated into managerships in small cities.

R.S.C.

County and Township*Edited by Victor Jones
and William N. Cassella, Jr.*

Baltimore County Charter Proposed

Elected Executive and Appointive CAO Provided

AT THE general election in November 1956 the voters of Baltimore County, Maryland, will have on the ballot the question of adopting a county home rule charter. This is one of the country's fastest growing urban counties and surrounds the major part of Baltimore City. It has an estimated population of 350,000, spends approximately \$45,000,000 a year and has a land area of 610 square miles. It contains no incorporated cities or towns and controls its sewer and water facilities. The county is governed by a three-man board of county commissioners which performs both legislative and executive functions.

Constitutional home rule has been available to Maryland counties since 1915, but only Montgomery County has availed itself of the privilege. Under the Maryland constitution and statutes, the following rules must be observed:

1. The charter board has six months after its election within which to complete its work.

2. The members of the county legislative body must be elected by the voters at large but there may be district residence requirements.

3. The county may exercise through its charter only those powers granted by the Express Powers Act plus those given by law to the county commissioners.

4. The legislative body is currently limited to a 30-day annual legislative session for the passage of public local laws. A proposed constitutional amend-

ment will increase this to 45 days, which need not be consecutive. County councils may pass enabling acts in the 30-day sessions which can be expanded at other times and can establish the tax levy and pass budgets without the 30-day limit.

The proposed charter was prepared by a distinguished group of citizens elected in November 1954: J. Kemp Bartlett, Jr., Isabel W. Burkhardt, Samuel P. Cassen, Milton R. Smith and Edward H. Burke, chairman. Arthur W. Machen, Jr., served as reporter and Kenneth C. Proctor as counsel. John A. Donaho and Associates served as consultants. The board held public hearings to obtain views, prepared a tentative charter and then held further hearings to receive criticism before preparing its final proposal. The charter presented to the county commissioners to be placed on the ballot cannot be amended after presentation.

In selecting the kind and structure of government suited to the needs and characteristics of Baltimore County, the board decided to base its fundamental nature upon the theory of separation of powers rather than upon an amalgamation of executive and legislative powers as at present or the delegation of executive authority by the council to an employee as under the council-manager plan.

The proposed charter provides for an elected county executive and a county council of seven elected at large but representing each of seven districts in which they must be resident. The term of office for both is four years. The salary of councilmen is fixed at \$3,000 a year and that of the executive is \$17,500 a year.

Council vacancies are to be filled by appointment by the county executive of the person named by the State Central

Committee of the party to which the previous member belonged. If he belonged to none, the county executive must appoint the person selected by the county council. Redistricting of councilmanic districts is provided for after each decennial census. The council will elect a chairman from its membership, appoint a secretary and have the county solicitor as its legislative draftsman, counsel and keeper of its journal. Legislation must be passed by a majority of the whole number of members and published after approval by the county executive. The county executive has veto power over all legislation but the budget, which cannot be increased by the council, redistricting and the appointment of the county auditor.

The referendum, but not the recall, is provided for by petition of 10 per cent of the qualified voters on any law within 45 days after its enactment. Emergency measures will remain in effect until the referendum. All bond issues, except for self-liquidating issues, are subject to referendum as at present. Appropriation measures, except increases over the previous appropriation, are not subject to referendum.

Appointment of CAO

The council is forbidden to interfere in the affairs of the executive branch or deal directly with employees except by legislative act. The council is provided with a legislative auditor who will make a post-audit of the county's financial affairs annually and the county council will further have an independent audit by an outside firm made biennially.

The county executive will appoint a county administrative officer to administer the affairs of the executive establishment and the county solicitor. Both appointments are subject to councilmanic confirmation. Both can be dismissed by the county executive, but the county administrative officer has the right to a public hearing on the charges before the

council and will receive three months' salary upon discharge. The county administrative officer will serve in the absence of the county executive, but will not exercise his veto power.

The county administrative officer is to be appointed on the basis of his administrative experience and qualifications for a four-year term, extending beyond that of the county executive for a period of six months, or until his successor qualifies. He need not be a resident of the county at the time of his appointment.

The heads of these offices and departments will be appointed and removed by the county administrative officer, subject to approval of the county executive. The administrative services, other than law, are under the direction of the county administrative officer. They are the offices of personnel, finance, budget, central services, and planning and zoning and the departments of public works, permits and licenses, public safety, recreation, education, libraries, health and welfare. The latter four are controlled to a high degree by state law and are relatively unaffected by the charter except for administrative procedures. The charter provides, however, that in the event of a transfer of jurisdiction over them to the county, the council shall provide for their administration under county law.

The administrative structure of offices and departments was based on a recent study of county organization made available to the charter board by the county commissioners. The reorganization reduces the number of county agencies from 32 to 18. The elective office of county treasurer is abolished by the charter.

A unified board of appeals is created, appointed by the county executive and confirmed by the council, to hear zoning, license and other appeals from administrative acts.

An extensive article of the charter provides for budget and fiscal procedures,

including a comprehensive budget embracing a message, a current expense budget and a capital program and budget. Budgeting is a function of the chief executive aided by the county administrative officer and director of the budget. The capital program is initially developed by the office of planning. All budgets are to be based upon program or project. The council cannot increase any expenditure or revise the revenue estimates. Work programs and allotments are provided for and obligations cannot exceed allotments or appropriations. Supplementary and emergency appropriations are restricted.

Merit System Provided

The charter provides the broad outline of a merit system covering classified personnel. It provides for a central office of personnel, headed by a director and containing a personnel and salary advisory board which is a rule-making and appeals body. The council must implement the personnel provisions through a county personnel law, the scope and basis for which the charter provides. Separate police and fire examining boards are abolished.

Centralized purchasing is written into the charter. It provides for a purchasing unit in the office of central services and assigns to this office responsibility for all purchases, contracts, sales and leases as well as warehousing, stores control and other modern purchasing measures. Rules and regulations governing purchases must be adopted by the council at its first annual legislative session.

The personal interest of county officers and employees in county business is rigidly restricted. The county council may, however, allow an officer or employee to own stock or maintain a business interest on full public disclosure and a determination of no conflict of interest. Public documents, except those of the police, are available to any citizen on demand.

Of a somewhat controversial nature are parts of the transitory provisions to ease the changeover between the old and new forms if the charter is adopted. The charter will take effect 30 days after its adoption and a special election for the council must be held on January 23, 1957. In the interim period the incumbent county commissioners will act as the county council and during this time will exercise their present powers until the new council takes office. The first county executive will be the incumbent president of the board of county commissioners until the general election in 1958, when a new county council and county executive will be elected. Candidates for the first county council will be nominated by petition or by the state central committees of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The charter may be terminated by a referendum proposal approved by at least six members of the council or a petition of 20 per cent of the registered voters (or 10,000, whichever is greater) and approved by a majority of votes cast on the question. Amendments may be proposed and adopted in the same manner except that only five council votes are required. Termination of the charter would restore the county commissioner form.

Between May 2, 1955, and the election on November 6, 1956, the citizens of the county will have ample time, perhaps too much, to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the proposed charter. Under Maryland law, no lesser period is possible. Charter board hearings have evidenced a wide interest in the charter on the part of citizen groups and the political parties. The adoption of the home rule charter will permit consideration and adoption of local legislation formerly requiring action by the state legislature. It will clarify legislative and executive responsibility and provide the administrative framework and safe-

guards necessary for modern government in an urban county.

JOHN A. DONAHO

John A. Donaho and Associates
Baltimore, Maryland

Movie Depicts

Multnomah County Services

"County Outline," a documentary film designed to acquaint the public with the \$13,000,000 of services provided annually by Multnomah County (Portland), Oregon, has recently been produced by the Library Association of Portland. The movie depicts activities of all major county departments, including road work, health services, hospital care, police, welfare, planning and other functions. This is the first such film to be produced by a library, and is the only locally-produced documentary on county government. The film will be added to the library's collection of documentaries and will be available to community groups and individuals.

Production was achieved by local sources, with photography and continuity under the direction of Harry Paget, film librarian. Original background music was written by a Portland composer and the film is narrated by a local announcer. The production was financed by the Harmon Fund for Adult Education, a local fund administered by the Library Association.

Although the movie was undertaken as a general community service, timing of its release coincides with a campaign for a special county levy of \$3,863,000 annually to replace a similar levy which expires June 30.

KENNETH C. TOLLENAAR
Assistant Director

Bureau of Municipal Research
and Services
University of Oregon

Cumberland County, N. C., Gets Civil Service

Cumberland County has become the first in North Carolina to have a civil service system for most of its employees. At a legislative hearing on the civil service bill adopted in March, a three-to-one majority favored a civil service system.

Arlington County Starts In-service Training

To encourage its employees to study subjects which will aid them in their work, Arlington County, Virginia, has instituted a plan whereby it will pay the tuition of employees who successfully complete approved courses.

An employee wanting to take part must pay his own tuition but will get his money back when he successfully completes the course. The county will not pay laboratory or book expenses and tuition payments are limited to \$100 a year for each person. The course must be approved in advance by the director of personnel, who consults the department head concerned to make sure the course is related directly to the work of the person asking for educational assistance. Other rules for operation of the plan are:

The employee applying for aid must have worked for the county for one year and agree to stay for a year after the course is completed. If he does not stay on, he must pay back the amount spent by the county.

Courses must be taken on the employee's time, except in unusual cases where he may be able to take time off provided he makes it up.

Proportional Representation*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*(This department is successor to the *Proportional Representation Review*)

P. R. Repeal Bills Defeated

Proposed Law to Change P. R. Rules also Killed

A BILL to repeal the option of Massachusetts cities using P.R. elections to select any rules for counting in use in American cities in 1938, and to limit them to the particular rules set out in the original Massachusetts P.R. legislation, corresponding to the method formerly used in Toledo, was defeated on April 21 by a 61-to-15 vote in the state's House of Representatives.

The motive of the proponents of this legislation was not easy to perceive. The measure was introduced by Representative Thomas F. Farrell of Worcester, a critic of P.R. representing part of a city that has repeatedly indicated its preference for that method of election. He stated that his purpose was to reduce feeling against P.R. by causing the count to be "simplified."

The measure had a curious legislative history, beginning with a hearing on little or no notice—Worcester civic leaders said they were watching for notice and saw none—at which only the proponents of the bill appeared. This was followed by a hasty recommendation of the bill by the committee the very next day.

By this time Worcester citizens were asking the legislature for an opportunity to explain why they desired to continue to use the more exact counting method formerly used by Boulder, Colorado. The bill was referred back to committee, a hearing was held and this time the committee recommended defeat of the bill. (In Massachusetts, unlike most other states, committees do not have the power

to "kill" measures and all bills must be reported out, with or without recommendation.)

The only substantial difference between the Toledo and Boulder methods of counting lies in the allocation of surplus ballots when one candidate receives more votes than the quota necessary to elect him. The Toledo arrangement simply treats the first ballots counted for the candidate towards the quota and the remainder as surplus. In order that the surplus will be reasonably representative in such a case, the Toledo count calls for counting all the ballots in a random order of districts, the particular sequence being determined by lot.

In the Boulder count all the ballots cast for a candidate receiving more than a quota of first-choice votes are re-examined to determine the distribution of second choices. The surplus ballots are then distributed to second choices proportionally.

Supporters of the bill attacked the Boulder count on the ground that it was complicated. If they had succeeded, opponents of P.R. would then presumably have attacked the Toledo plan on the ground that it leaves something to chance—the very thing which the Boulder plan takes care of.

No Anti-P.R. Measures

At an earlier date the Massachusetts legislature killed measures to repeal entirely the authorization for municipal P.R. elections in the cities which already have them. On March 24 the House of Representatives voted down three such bills without a word of debate. On April 12 the Senate, by a roll-call vote of 23 to 13, defeated another after some discussion, in which it appeared that a few of the opponents of the bill did not

favor P.R. but believed that the four cities affected should have the right to keep P.R. if they wanted it.

Tasmania Elects House of Assembly by P. R.

Elections for the House of Assembly of the Australian island state of Tasmania were held on February 19, 1955. This was the sixteenth election under the electoral act of 1907, which established P.R. for parliamentary elections in all the districts. In 1896 P.R. was used for the first time in Tasmania for the election of Assembly representatives from the two largest cities of the state, Hobart and Launceston. The Hare system of P.R. has been in use in Tasmania for direct public elections longer than in any other community in the world.

The House of Assembly consists of 30 members, six elected from each of five divisions. These divisions are identical in area, name and electoral enrollment with federal election districts, from each one of which a member is elected to the federal House of Representatives by alternative voting (Hare system applied to election of one). In conformity with Australian practice, party designations are not listed on the ballots. Since 1941 candidates have been permitted to have their names arranged on the ballot according to party groups, which are placed beside each other horizontally on the paper. Names within the groups are listed alphabetically but are not rotated.

Sixty-three candidates contested the election, each of the two parties sponsoring 30 nominees, with six candidates of each party competing in each of five districts. The remaining three nominees, independents, ran in three different electorates. In all contests since 1922 the number of candidates has been more than twice the number of seats to be filled, ranging from a low of 62 nominees in 1941 to 86 in 1946. All candidates cam-

paign for No. 1 votes for themselves and, contrary to usual practice in mainland states, the parties in Tasmania do not recommend and distribute to voters a prescribed order for marking preferences in Assembly elections.

The numbering of a minimum of three choices is required for a valid vote. Similar to the general practice in Australia, voting is compulsory. Generous provisions, however, are made for postal and absentee voting, the latter being the privilege of casting ballots at voting stations outside the district in which the voter is enrolled. A nomination deposit of fifteen pounds (approximately \$34) is forfeited by a candidate if his votes at time of exclusion do not exceed one-fifth of a quota.

A distinctive feature of the Tasmanian counting rules is the fractional method for distributing surpluses. Instead of transferring a proportionate selection of ballots equal to the surplus, all of the ballots of the candidate with surplus votes are transferred to the next preference. Each of these ballots is consequently calculated, not as a unit value, but as a fractional surplus transfer value found by dividing the number of surplus votes by the candidate's total of votes. The method requires more time to apply than the usual less exact forms, but the electoral officers find no trouble in administering it easily and efficiently.

After the sorting of first choices, which was done at the local polling places, the average time required to complete the count at central counting rooms in the five electorates was approximately seven hours, with staffs of about ten persons in each. Although the fractional distribution of surplus is a comparatively minor feature of the counting rules and insignificant to the basic functioning of the system, its relative complexity is used by opponents of P.R. as an argument against the whole system.

The Labor party, which has formed the government since 1934, was returned

to power with an increased popular vote over the last election. The Liberal party, as the Conservative party is now called, constitutes the opposition. As indicated in the accompanying table, although Labor obtained a majority of votes in every electorate, both it and the opposition received three quotas each in all divisions, thus giving an equality of fifteen seats to each party. In accordance with provisions of a special "deadlocks" law, enacted in the last session of Parliament to deal with occurrences of equality in party representation, the party with the larger popular vote forms the government and the smaller party is given the right to name the speaker and chairman of committees.

Although this year is the first time the parties have been returned in equal numbers in the Assembly, the possibility of deadlocks caused considerable concern during the last session when the party strengths were so close that an independent member held the deciding vote. Few direct and effective efforts have been made, however, to reduce the chances of ties in party representation, such as providing for odd numbers of seats within electorates.

P. R. Record

Had seven members instead of six been chosen from each electorate, the government in this election would have obtained four seats in each district, giving it a strength of twenty votes to fifteen. A proposal for seven-member electorates was passed by the Assembly in the last session, but rejected by the upper house, called the Legislative Council. The latter consists of nineteen members chosen for staggered six-year terms by alternative voting from single-member districts under restricted franchise.

The evidence of this and past elections will be of special interest to Americans since Tasmanian experience with P.R. forcefully disproves major allegations that have been advanced against P.R.

by its opponents in the United States.

First of all, there are neither splinter groups nor a multiplicity of parties in Tasmania. Since the adoption of P.R. no splinter parties have won a seat in Parliament. In only two elections, 1922 and 1925, was there a third party. The two-party system has been conspicuously stronger in Tasmania than on the mainland, where single-member districts are used for all directly elected state parliaments. Three major parties—the Labor, Liberal and Country—are regular contestants and powerful political forces in the states of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria. It is expected that the use of single-member electorates in Tasmania would promptly introduce the Country party, whose potential supporters are too few to reach quotas in the six-member electorates now in effect. In a state parliamentary election held May 28 in Victoria, Tasmania's closest mainland neighbor state, five major parties, plus minor ones, contested.

Next, Tasmanian politics have displayed marked stability. The recently re-elected Labor government, for example, is entering its 22nd year in office. The first five elections under P.R. were won by the non-Labor party, followed by two terms of office by Labor. The next two elections were won by the non-Labor party, which in 1934 was replaced by the Labor party, which has been re-elected ever since. Only twice since 1909 has a parliament been dissolved sooner than the third year following an election.

No Communists have ever been elected to the Tasmanian parliament and in the recent election there were no Communist candidates. There are no legal barriers to prevent nomination of candidates by the Communist party, which regularly runs some candidates in parliamentary elections in mainland states. Only one Communist has been elected to an Australian parliament. This one, interestingly enough, was chosen in

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, TASMANIA, FEB. 19, 1955^a
Comparison of Votes and Seats Received, Totals and Percentages
(On Basis of First Preference Votes)

<i>Electoral Divisions</i>	<i>Labor Votes</i>	<i>Party Seats</i>	<i>Liberal Party Votes</i>	<i>Party Seats</i>	<i>Independents Votes</i>	<i>Seats</i>	<i>Invalid^b Ballots</i>
Denison	12,914	3	10,811	3	1,699	—	1008
	50.8%	50.0%	42.5%	50.0%	6.7%	—	3.8%
Franklin	18,491	3	17,232	3	1,299	—	1472
	50.0%	50.0%	46.5%	50.0%	3.5%	—	3.8%
Wilmot	18,123	3	14,430	3	—	—	1355
	55.7%	50.0%	44.3%	50.0%	—	—	4.0%
Darwin	16,470	3	14,412	3	—	—	1028
	53.3%	50.0%	46.7%	50.0%	—	—	3.2%
Bass	16,364	3	14,074	3	160	—	1245
	53.5%	50.0%	46.0%	50.0%	.5%	—	4.0%
Totals	82,362	15	70,959	15	3,158	—	6158
	52.6%	50.0%	45.6%	50.0%	2.0%	—	3.8%

^aComputations based on final figures provided by State Electoral Office, Hobart.

^bSome invalid ballots occur as a consequence of compulsory voting, which brings to the polls some persons who otherwise would not vote and consequently carelessly or intentionally mismark their ballots.

Queensland, the only state using plurality voting for parliamentary elections, at the first election after the alternative vote system was dropped. In this instance, a three-cornered contest in the electorate of Bowen in 1944, the Communist candidate won by a vote of 3,434 against a combined vote of 4,298 by his two opponents, Labor and Country party nominees.

The election of faddists and extremists has not taken place in Tasmania. In fact, the opposite has been the case. Within the last generation, for example, all independent members of Parliament have been acknowledged to be level-headed moderates, with views falling in between those of the Labor and non-Labor parties, not to their right or left. In the sixteen elections under P.R. in Tasmania 480 seats have been filled, fifteen of which have been won by independents.

That P.R. can avoid, not cause, factions and splintering within parties is well illustrated in the recent election, when the unifying and integrating tendencies of the Hare system were revealed. At the present time the Australian Labor party is severely split by

one of the bitterest factional fights in its history. In the federal parliament a Labor break-away group is established as a separate party. In the state of Victoria the break-away section caused the defeat of the Labor government in that state and forced an election to be held May 28, when five major parties competed, including the two Labor groups which appear to be seeking the annihilation of each other.

For several months preceding the Tasmanian election, political warfare was intense between the two groups in mainland areas. Speculation was rife as to how this dissension would affect the Labor party's electoral chances in Tasmania, where the Liberal party opposition drew conspicuous attention to the strife and division in its opponent's ranks in mainland politics. Despite the intra-party disruption and war in other places, the Labor party in Tasmania has remained united and was re-elected not only with a majority vote in each electorate, but with a much larger vote than in the preceding election in 1950. P.R. with its multi-member electorates can provide broad accommodation within a par-

(Continued on page 333)

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Washington Counties Revise Assessments

Law Provides Review to Secure Uniformity

UNDER legislation enacted by the 1955 session of the Washington state legislature, county assessors are required to make a general reassessment of all taxable property for the purpose of securing greater uniformity in assessment practices throughout the state. The reassessment must be started not later than January 1, 1956, and completed by May 31, 1958. Thereafter, the quadrennial reassessment schedule formerly in effect will be resumed.

The Washington state constitution provides that "assessed valuation shall be 50 percentum of the true and fair value of . . . property in money," and limits the rate of taxes for county, city, school and road district purposes, unless authorized in additional amounts by the voters, to not exceeding 40 mills on the dollar of assessed valuation. It has been recognized for a number of years that few of the counties were assessing property at the ratio required by the constitution and that there was a growing inequality of assessment between similar properties within the same jurisdiction.

The extent to which actual assessments fall short of the legal requirement was shown by a special study made in the closing months of 1954 by the subcommittee on revenue and taxation of the Washington State Legislative Council. The study analyzed some 41,713 real estate transactions of 1953 and 992 of 1952, and compared the selling prices with the assessed valuation of 1953, which was the basis for taxes collected in 1954.

It was found that the average assess-

ment ratios of the state's 39 counties ranged from a high of 38.5 per cent to a low of 13.3 per cent. Twenty counties had average assessment ratios below 20 per cent, while only six had average ratios of 25 per cent or more. In King County (metropolitan Seattle) the average was 17.1 per cent, while in Pierce County (Tacoma) the ratio was 18.9 per cent and in Spokane County (Spokane) 21.5 per cent.

Wide Variations

Additionally, there was a wide variation in the basis of assessment within counties. In King County, for example, where the average was found to be 17.1 per cent, the range was from a low of less than 1 per cent to a high of 840 per cent, and even greater ranges were disclosed in other counties. For single family dwellings, the average assessment ratio was found to be 15.9 per cent, for vacant land 19.6 per cent, for retail stores 27.5 per cent and for industrial improvements 27.2 per cent, to mention some of the major categories. There were, additionally, wide variations in the assessment ratios for individual parcels within each category. Thus, for the single-family dwellings, while 78.2 per cent were assessed at from 10 per cent to 20 per cent of the sales price, 13.6 per cent were assessed at less than 10 per cent, and one per cent were assessed at more than 50 per cent of the sales value.

Equalization is a matter of pressing importance in Washington not only because of the ever-present problem of inequities between property owners resulting within individual counties but also because the state still retains use of the general property tax and the revenue systems of the local governments are subject to the legal tax rate limit. Under legislation implementing the constitution-

al 40-mill rate limit, the rate for city purposes is limited to 16 mills on the dollar, for school districts to 14 mills, for counties to 8 mills, and for state purposes to 2 mills, while road districts (which do not overlap the cities and towns) are limited to 10 mills. These limits can be exceeded only for payment of requirements on bonds issued prior to the original enactment of the 40-mill limit, in 1932, and as specially voted by a three-fifths majority when the number voting on the proposition equals at least 40 per cent of the total number of votes cast at the last preceding general election.

State Aid Increased

With local government costs increasing in the last decade more rapidly than assessed valuations, many of the units have found the limitations increasingly a handicap to budget balancing, and the state has progressively increased its assistance for school and municipal work programs in order to augment local income. In many instances the pressure for state aid and the development of business taxes levied at the local level would be lightened measurably were assessments fixed at or closer to the constitutional 50 per cent of value in money.

The reassessment provided by the 1955 legislature aims at equalization and does not specifically make mandatory assessment at the constitutionally fixed ratio. It does, however, reaffirm the authority of the State Tax Commission to enforce equitable assessment practices on the local assessors, including the power to commence court action against an assessor who does not comply with the uniformity provisions of the commission's rules. The commission is authorized to provide technical assistance to the assessors and to enter into contracts, on a 50-50 basis, for financial assistance to individual reassessment projects when requested by local officials.

Louisiana Begins 30-Day Special Budget Session

The Louisiana legislature convened May 9, 1955, for its first special session for consideration of the state budget, provided by a constitutional amendment enacted in 1954. The session is restricted to consideration of the budget and related fiscal measures unless the members agree, by three-fourths vote, to consider other matters.

Since 1879, regular sessions of the Louisiana legislature have been limited to 60-day sessions, held biennially. The special budgetary session is limited to 30 days, with the introduction of bills restricted to the first ten days. (At the regular session, bills may be introduced through the 21st day, and the period for introduction of bills may be extended; at the special budget session, no extension may be made.)

Louisiana is now one of six states which hold special sessions limited to consideration of budget and fiscal matters. The others are California, Colorado, Kansas, Maryland and West Virginia.

Mississippi Cities Enact Municipal Sales Taxes

Twenty-five cities and towns in Mississippi now have local sales (gross receipts) taxes, according to *The Municipal South* magazine. Originally, the use of the tax was restricted to cities of 10,000 population or over, but the 1954 legislature amended the statute to remove this restriction. Now, any municipality in the state may levy a sales tax on all retail sales, services and public utilities, provided the measure is approved by three-fifths of the qualified voters.

Interestingly, the three largest cities originally qualifying under the measure—Greenville, Meridian and Columbus—voted down sales tax measures submitted under the original law. Meridian

subsequently passed a sales tax measure and the other two cities have voted sales taxes under the 1954 law. The last city to enact the tax, levied at one-half of one per cent, is Flora, where collections began in December 1954. During the first eleven months of 1954, according to the State Tax Commission, all cities using the tax collected a total of \$2,190,236.

The tax is collected by the state, along with the state sales tax, with the State Tax Commission retaining 5 per cent of the collections for administrative costs.

State Finances in 1954

Reported in Summary Form

The Governments Division of the U. S. Bureau of the Census has released its preliminary study, *Summary of State Government Finances in 1954*, preparatory to publication of more detailed data in the annual *Compendium of State Government Finances* for 1954. Covering transactions of all 48 states in the fiscal years ending during the calendar year 1954, the study shows a flattening out in the rate of increase of revenues, accompanying a slight rise in the rate of increase in expenditures and a marked rise in state borrowing.

Inclusive of state unemployment compensation and similar taxes and liquor store (monopoly) revenues, current revenues for fiscal 1954 were \$18,834,000,000, up 4.8 per cent from 1953. For 1953 the rate of increase had been 6.9 per cent. Taxes for general revenue purposes were \$11,089,000,000, up 5.1 per cent compared with 7.1 per cent. The best gain among the major taxes was 9.9 per cent for motor fuel taxes, which had been up 7.9 per cent for 1953. Individual income taxes gained 3.7 per cent, compared with 6.1 per cent for 1953, but corporation income taxes were down 4.8 per cent compared with a 3.3 per cent decline the preceding year. Other taxes showing declines for 1954 included taxes on alcoholic beverages and tobacco

products. Unemployment compensation taxes, which had been down 2.9 per cent for 1953, declined 5.5 per cent for 1954.

Total expenditures, including those for unemployment, etc., and liquor monopoly expenses, were \$18,686,000,000, 10.9 per cent greater than in 1953, which in turn had been 6.4 per cent above 1952. Of this total, \$5,886,000,000 was for capital outlays (including expenditure of bond proceeds), up 17.5 per cent compared with 7.1 per cent. Intergovernmental expenditures (almost entirely grants and other assistance to local units) totaled \$5,679,000,000, up 5.5 per cent for 1954 compared with 6.7 per cent for 1953. Current expenditures for purposes other than capital and intergovernmental accounted for the remaining \$5,886,000,000, and were up 6.2 per cent compared with 7.1 per cent for 1953.

State borrowing in 1954 aggregated \$2,239,000,000, up 64.7 per cent over fiscal 1953, which in turn had risen 17.8 per cent over 1952. Long-term state debt at the close of the 1954 fiscal period aggregated \$9,317,000,000, increased 24.1 per cent over 1953, which had been up 13.0 per cent. Of the 1954 year-end total, \$5,770,000,000 were full faith and credit obligations of the states, and \$3,547,000,000 were so-called non-guaranteed long-term debt, principally revenue bonds and bonds payable solely from earmarked revenues. The 1954 increase in long-term debt, \$2,214,000,000, was represented more than half by borrowings of four states: Indiana, \$294,000,000; New Jersey, \$270,000,000; New York, \$312,000,000; and Pennsylvania, \$273,000,000. The greater part of this was toll highway and turnpike revenue bonds. Other states issuing more than \$100,000,000 of new long-term debt during the year included California, \$128,000,000; Connecticut, \$135,000,000; Georgia, \$126,000,000; and Michigan, \$118,000,000. School aid represented the bulk of the California and Georgia loans, highways the remainder.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Civic Groups Queried

Answer Questionnaires on Salaries, Employees

THE National Association of Civic Secretaries has received 31 replies from its members to questionnaires dealing with staff salaries paid by their organizations and related matters. Here is a report on the replies as summarized by the association's *Shop Talk*.

Four of the questionnaires were rejected as they covered organizations too non-typical of the general membership of the NACS. The 27 remaining replies have been grouped as follows:

Organizations	Employees
4 Statewide	53 full-time
4 Municipal research bureaus	11 " "
19 Research and citizen action	45 " "
—	—
27	109

Statewide Groups

The largest statewide organization employed 28 full-time employees and the smallest two. Annual salary ranges reported are:

Executive director	\$8,500-\$25,000
Research director	\$7,000-\$12,500
Public information	\$8,000-\$ 8,500
Research analyst	\$4,000-\$ 5,500
Research assistant	\$3,000
Research librarian	\$3,900
Membership representative	\$6,000-\$10,000
Legislative director	\$9,000
Technicians	\$9,000

Fringe benefits listed by these four statewide organizations are:

Non-guaranteed end of the year bonus,

Hospitalization and surgical insurance, Liberal sick-leave plans, One organization has a retirement plan, Vacations range from two weeks to one month.

Municipal Research Bureaus

Four municipal research bureaus returned the questionnaires. One of these bureaus was located in New England, one in the south, another in the midwest and the fourth in the southwest.

Total professional staff employed by these bureaus range from one to five.

Professional annual salary ranges are as follows:

Executive head	\$4,700-\$12,000
Research assistant	\$3,600-\$ 4,500

No fringe benefits were reported by these four organizations.

Vacations average three weeks.

Research and Action Groups

Nineteen organizations reported with only one defining its field as "civic action only." Eleven are located in the midwest, five in the east, two in the south and one in the west.

Thirteen said they covered the metropolitan area or county. Six checked municipal only. Nineteen organizations reported a total of 45 full-time employees, including 30 professional staff personnel. Ten organizations employ less than four people and nine employ four or more.

The returns from the questionnaire are reported separately below in two categories of organization size in order to give a better basis of comparison.

For ten organizations with less than four employees:

Executive director	\$3,000 ¹ -\$14,000
--------------------	--------------------------------

¹This salary and one other low salary (\$3,600) reported are paid to women executive heads.

No other professional staff was reported by these ten organizations with the exception of one having a consultant at \$9,000. These organizations report using only secretarial and stenographic personnel assisting the executive head.

The average age of these executive directors was 41 and the average salary (excluding the two women directors reported) was \$7,870.

One organization reported having hospital insurance and surgical benefits, two reported none and the others failed to answer this question.

Six of these organizations reported two-week vacations, two reported three-week and two failed to answer the question.

For nine organizations reporting with four or more employees:

A sufficient sample was obtained of executive directors' ages and salaries to be revealing but reports on all other employees were so limited as to make grouping into age and salary ranges meaningless.

Executive directors ranged in annual salary from \$4,400 to \$20,000. Their average salary, \$10,425.

Four assistant executive directors were reported and their salaries ranged from \$5,200 to \$5,600. There were also two research directors with salaries between \$8,200 and \$9,200.

Research assistant and analyst salaries were in the \$5,000 to \$7,000 bracket.

Membership and financial secretaries and directors were at the \$6,000 level for these research and action organizations. Fringe benefits reported included hospital insurance and end-of-the-year bonus.

Two organizations reported retirement plans.

Vacation policies ranged from one and two weeks for the first year to a month after persons have been employed for as long as two years. The average vacation reported was three weeks.

If more detail as to the answers to

any particular question is desired, write to S. R. Jeffers, director of research, Mississippi Economic Council, Standard Life Building, Jackson, Mississippi.

Citizens Learn about Local Planning

The Citizens' Council on City Planning, by town meetings, forums and public hearings, is making great efforts to educate the citizens of Philadelphia on the city's proposed capital improvement program.

The council plans to repeat its town meetings of last year, which proved so successful. Approximately a thousand representatives of local neighborhood groups attended four area meetings, learning directly from city officials the policies behind capital programming and the schedule of public improvements. Town meetings will again be held in four major areas and will be devoted to a discussion of proposed capital improvements both city-wide and in each specific area. The council will prepare material for distribution to the audience. The mayor, director of planning and other city officials will discuss planning policies and answer questions.

The citizens council has also arranged two public hearings at which the City Planning Commission will present for discussion a preliminary physical development plan for the far northeastern section of the city. This is the first of a series of plans which will eventually embrace the entire city.

The Pennsylvania Planning Association, at its meeting in Pittsburgh, endorsed a proposed program for regional planning enabling legislation. According to the *News Letter* of the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning, the proposed act provides the following powers for the establishment of regional planning commissions:

"(1) Creation of regional planning

commission—composed of the county commissioners, councils or corresponding administrators of two or more counties.

"(2) Cooperative financing among participating counties or equivalents (cities, etc.); grants from the federal or state governments, or from individuals, corporations or foundations may be received.

"(3) The regional planning commission shall make a master plan.

"(4) The regional planning commission may produce or contract to have produced maps, reports, etc.

"(5) The councils or administrative bodies of any political subdivisions of a region may delegate any or all of the powers of the local planning commissions to the regional planning commission."

Five major activities for 1955 are listed by the Metropolitan Plan Association for the Coordinated Development of the St. Louis Region: (1) Advance the improvements proposed in *Guide Book 1954* by the functional and county planning committees; (2) implement a metropolitan housing and redevelopment program in accord with the recommendation of the third annual conference held in November; (3) initiate a preliminary metropolitan land use plan; (4) explore other crucial metropolitan area problems including highways, water supply and aviation; (5) promote the "better communities" program which establishes a continuous system of operation for activating coordinated community, county and metropolitan development programs. The association serves as a clearing house of information and cooperation, assisting local officials and others interested through such citizens' planning committees as may be organized.

Work for Council-manager

Granite City (Illinois) Rotarians heard Mayor Ivan Kramer of Wood River (Illinois) tell of the success his city has had under the manager plan, in operation about two years. Citizens

organized a League for Good Government, explained the mayor, which supported and elected qualified candidates to the city council. "Our slogan is 'more and better service for your tax dollar,'" said the mayor.

In its campaign for the council-manager plan, the Better Champaign (Illinois) Committee sent a four-page report on behalf of the proposal to each household.

The Memphis Committee for Council-manager Government is conducting a campaign of education in that city. The council-manager plan and how it can work in Memphis was the topic of a recent forum at which Lucius E. Burch, Jr., attorney and authority on forms of city government, led the discussion. Members of the executive committee of the organization were on the panel to answer questions.

The Neenah-Menasha (Wisconsin) League of Women Voters, after making a study of the matter, has reported in favor of the council-manager plan with a single manager for both communities.

Revival in Hartford

The Citizens' Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut, which was responsible for that city's adoption of the council-manager plan and the election of a citizens' slate of candidates for the first city council under it, has recently renewed its activities. It has opened a permanent office with a full-time staff, which is directing an information program on the city's government. Its object is to preserve and improve the council-manager plan and encourage civic responsibility on a year-round basis. The committee is sponsoring a series of neighborhood meetings and is issuing a monthly *Citizens' Letter* reporting on its activities.

Representatives of the Charter Committee are attending meetings of the city council and the board of education. This

"watchdog" group reports important developments in the press and on the radio.

Reaching for 10,000

In its annual membership drive the Citizens League of Cleveland has set a goal of ten thousand members. "The league will be 60 years old next year," says *Greater Cleveland*, its bulletin. "Will we reach 10,000 members by our 60th birthday?"

Chicago Vote Campaign

The organization known as Citizens of Greater Chicago reports that it has "reason to be proud of the conduct of its campaign to get out the vote" at the spring election. Its news letter comments that "over 500 civic, church and business organizations participated in the distribution of more than 300,000 lapel tabs and 10,000 posters." Five hundred people distributed tabs on street corners the day before election. Press and radio-TV coverage was excellent.

But, says the organization, "the evidence that the job needs to be done over and over is impressive." Less than 70 per cent of the voters came to the polls and no candidate or issue received the votes of a majority of the nearly two million Chicagoans who were qualified to vote. It is planned to make a vote drive a continuing part of the efforts of CGC.

Educational TV Progress

Since the federal government reserved channels for educational TV three years ago in April, eleven stations have gone on the air to which twenty million people have access, according to the National Citizens Committee for Educational Television. Twelve additional stations are under construction and over a hundred communities are taking action to set up a station. The Federal Communications Commission will continue to reserve channels for educational purposes for a reasonable length of time.

Public Service Award

The Citizens Union of New York City, at its 58th annual dinner on May 10, presented Seymour N. Siegel, director of radio communications for New York City, with its annual award for public service. New York's Mayor Robert F. Wagner, President Harry D. Gideonse of Brooklyn College, and Milton M. Bergerman, chairman of the Citizens Union, addressed the meeting on "New York Futurama." Ben Grauer, WRCA commentator, was master of ceremonies.

Civic Assembly

The Annual Civic Assembly of the Chicago City Club, meeting April 25, had as its subject "Metropolitan Chicago of Tomorrow." Four panel sessions discussed physical planning, governmental organization and services, education and human relations. Following the panel discussions a dinner meeting was addressed by Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago and Judge George Edwards of the Circuit Court of Wayne County, Michigan.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 291)

munity Chest toward the ultimate answer to effective voluntary welfare services. As such, it is part of the larger citizen-action movement.

It appears inevitable that the broader movement will, in Texas, soon sweep into the forbidding areas of county and state governmental reform. . . .

This civic-action movement, says Milton S. Eisenhower in the foreword to McKee's book, is "a vast number of Americans who realize that the local community is the testing ground of a free society." The *San Antonio News* has no deeper conviction; that, in truth, is the cornerstone of its editorial policies.

New York Reports to Its Citizens

Mayor Presents Account of Program and Policies

NEW YORK'S Mayor Robert F. Wagner has delivered to the city council and to the people of the metropolis a *First Annual Report—Foundations for Better Government*, covering the period January-December 1954. It will be read and referred to with more than passing interest by those interested in problems of municipal government.

It is clear that this report, which has been kept to a relatively brief 80 pages, is the product of extensive governmental research and some clear thinking about what belongs in a mayor's annual report. The day when municipal reports generally resemble an extra-curricular activity of the local chamber of commerce seems to be passing away in favor of reports which make meaningful remarks about municipal programs and performance.

It is possible from this report to derive a good general understanding of the basic operating functions of the city government without being overwhelmed with endless details about departments. Current problems, expected trends in function and finance, and some properly brief comparative data are presented for all the working units of the nation's largest city. Of special note is the fact that the report does not overstress the unique size and scope of the great city's operations.

The organization of the material in the report is undoubtedly effective. The major categories of municipal service are selected under some ten headings with city departments and bureaus of like

character described together. For example, protective services encompass police, correction, fire and air pollution agencies. The remaining major categories are, perhaps, worth listing because they describe well the changed, positive character of the modern city which provides a full range of services to both individuals and property.

The principal sections of the report, taking less than ten pages each, are management, civil service, new public construction, housing, education, health and welfare, protective services, community services and facilities, commerce and industry, traffic and transportation. The health and welfare services take the greatest space.

The report contains a number of interpretative sections which seek to explain the economic patterns which affect the city, the effects of population growth and movement and the problems which are ahead. One is impressed by the studies of employment trends and school population movement which are shown as background for the sections on commerce and education.

Fairly liberal use has been made of pictures, charts and tables, but not to the detriment of easy reading and comprehension. The charts are simple and effective. The tables are short and clear and the illustrations are standard. The typography is excellent and only a few grammatical errors have crept in. Describing New York City's work in less than a hundred pages is no mean feat.

Several special items are noted. The organizational changes in the mayor's office are noted, including creation of the office of city administrator, but no evaluation is offered at this time. Civil service reform and new career and salary plans are indicated, along with new departments and citizens advisory com-

mittees. A number of goals for the future are bravely set forth which appear to indicate a certain amount of political courage on the part of the incumbents.

But, in the view of the writer, despite its general excellence, the report has a number of deficiencies. There is no recapitulation or simple table which shows the amounts of money spent in relation to the services provided. No brief budgetary data of a currently comprehensive nature are available in this report nor are comparisons of revenue and expenditure indicated.

Certainly it is an excellent account of programs and policies. It is possible to see what the city has been doing for people in all fields and to know what it proposes to do as time and resources become available. It is in this sense that it is an able and meaningful report. It holds forth goals of internal management and external service which will be reminders for time to come. It is brief and interesting and presents data, not for their own sake, but with interpretation. More than a catalogue of municipal activities, the New York report tells the story of the "things" of municipal government without forgetting that the tasks are by and for people.

Need for Urban Research Cited

Despite a growing recognition of urban problems such as slums, dope, juvenile delinquency, housing and smog, there are huge gaps in urban statistics and research, according to Henry Cohen, senior management consultant for the Division of Administration of New York City, who writes in the February issue of *Urban Land*, publication of the Urban Land Institute, Washington, D. C.

The author suggests that many foreign nations are ahead of the United States in according urban problems and urban

people full recognition and official attention as urbanism grows to dominate the social and economic life of the nation. Cities are spoken of as vital, yet the paucity of accurate data on many crucial phases of city life makes it difficult to show the full stake which the nation has in its urban areas.

There is much rural, farm, open-country highway, feed, grain, produce and population data available for non-urban areas in this country. Yet it has been impossible to get improved Census Bureau compilations of, for example, municipal assessed valuations because of "congressional economies." Little serious attention has yet been given to suggestions that the national government establish a Department or Bureau of Urban Affairs although almost three-fourths of our people live in or adjacent to cities and metropolitan areas.

We need, says the author in his article, "Census Improvements Needed for Urban Research," better statistics for city planning, improved measures of the urban area's physical and spatial character, better basic local data, and research to establish the relationships and patterns between business establishments. Also we need mobility data, indicators of traffic generation, daily movement data and many other bench marks for study. Nor would the author put the entire burden on the federal government. He suggests, however, that Census Bureau appropriations have not kept pace with changing urban needs and that improvements in statistical programs on the federal and local levels must go hand in hand.

New York City's present Committee on Statistical Program, set up under a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation and under the direction of Dr. Allen Manvel, on loan from the Government's Division of the Bureau of the Census, is noted as a kind of local appraisal which may lead to improvements.

Canadian Municipal Grants Act to Be Revised

The Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities reports in the March-April issue of *The Listening Post* that the government of Canada now proposes to amend the Municipal Grants Act of 1951. Researchers will recall that in 1950 the government initiated a system of grants to municipalities in Canada in lieu of municipal taxes on crown property. Prior to this time the ancient dictum that the "crown cannot be taxed" held firm but with anomalous consequences in Canada where so much property remained under central government control.

Where the property held by the crown exceeded 4 per cent of the aggregate of the total assessed value of taxable property, the government made grants to municipalities equal to approximately 75 per cent of the normal municipal taxes on federal crown property in excess of the total municipal assessment plus the accepted value of crown property. Last year 48 Canadian municipalities received payments totaling about \$2,500,000.

The passage of the Municipal Grants Act in Canada was an admission that the central government had an obligation to contribute to the cost of municipal services rendered to federal crown property. While the early experience was favorable, the formula for the grants severely limited the number of municipalities which could qualify and cities found that the increasing amounts of tax-exempt federal crown property constituted an unnecessary drain on local property tax revenues.

In the light of experience, therefore, the government proposes to liberalize the formula so that a larger number of municipalities may qualify for the grants. It is proposed to reduce the percentage factor of crown property from 4 to 2 per cent. It will also liberalize the formula in two other ways. The first will increase

the payments by relating the grant to the ratio of taxable property only instead of the ratio of federal property to taxable and federal property combined. The second will remove the 75 per cent factor and the combined effect will be to calculate the grants at the full real property tax rate.

Conference on Government Held in Louisiana

The Public Affairs Research Council has organized a new approach in Louisiana for consideration of important state problems. PAR is a citizen-supported nonpartisan research and public information agency in Louisiana for the study of governmental problems. In place of its regular annual meeting it organized a statewide conference on government in the state. Held in New Orleans on March 18 the conference consisted of panel discussions, a noon banquet and an informal meeting for mayors. The panels highlighted four major state problems: welfare and institutions, education, highways and local government revenues.

Panel participants included state officials, members of PAR and other outstanding citizens of the state. Dr. George Gallup, president of the National Municipal League, was the featured speaker at the noon banquet. His address on "The Power of Knowledge" was one of the high points of the conference. Cecil Morgan, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League and one of the founders of PAR, acted as master of ceremonies.

The meeting was attended by citizens and public officials from all parts of the state.

That a nonpartisan discussion of important governmental problems could be held in Louisiana and that it could attract the statewide interest of the press and radio is another indication of a new climate of politics in Louisiana, one to which

the Public Affairs Research Council has contributed substantially.

KIMBROUGH OWEN
Louisiana State University

Plans Made for GRA Conference

GRA conference chairman, Leslie M. Gravlin, sends out a bulletin headed, appropriately enough, "Circle Your Calendar Now!" This is by way of informing the governmental research fraternity (and sorority, too) that this year's GRA conference will be held September 12-14 at Shawnee Inn, Shawnee-on-Delaware, Pennsylvania.

Six wide open workshop sessions are planned, which will include a thorough sifting of the federal aid to education question by Adam Bennion of Hoover Commission Task Force fame. Also, Governor Meyner of New Jersey has been asked to speak and is trying to work it into his advance calendar.

Annual GRA Awards Competition Announced

Rules governing the GRA annual awards competition have been announced. There will be two awards for written material prepared by members of the GRA. One award will be made for the *most noteworthy piece of research* and one award will be made for the *most effective presentation of a subject*.

For the purpose of the competition, member agencies have been defined as follows: (a) a governmental research agency according to article I, section 3 of the GRA constitution; (b) a governmental research agency maintained by a university or college; (c) a governmental research agency maintained by a chamber of commerce.

Complete details may be obtained by writing to the office of the secretary, Governmental Research Association, 684

Park Avenue, New York 21, New York and all entries must be in no later than June 6 of the year in which the awards are to be made.

Strictly Personal

Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director of Future Springfield, Inc., a bureau of municipal research which he helped to establish ten years ago, will assume the post of executive director of the Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) Chamber of Commerce. Future Springfield, Inc., a privately financed governmental research organization, was established at the end of the war.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 322)

ty's organization for a wide expression of minor differences held by its members and supporters. This is one reason why the split in the states with single-member electorates has not developed in Tasmania.

Within this limited space much elaboration on Tasmanian experience with P.R. is not possible, but it is clear that the dire speculations on the effects of P.R. made by its opponents are emphatically contradicted by the electoral and political record in Tasmania.

GEORGE HOWATT, *Fulbright Scholar*
From University of Pennsylvania
to University of Melbourne

P. R. League Meeting

The Proportional Representation League will hold its annual business and discussion meeting in Seattle in connection with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League. The time and place: Hotel Meany, Seattle, Washington, Tuesday, July 26, 1955, at 8 A.M. Richard S. Childs, a member of the Board of Trustees of the P. R. League, will preside.

Books in Review

Passion for Politics

A PASSION FOR POLITICS—THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LOUIS BROWNLOW. (First half.) Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955. xii, 606 pp. \$7.50.

Brownlow, as his vast circle of past fellow workers know, is a large subject. These 600 pages survived an editorial trimming out of 500 pages of typescript and a second volume—of similar size, no doubt—is in the printer's hands. Altogether that's a lot of Brownlow!

This first volume takes him through his Ozark boyhood and newspaper writer career to his appointment to his first public office as a commissioner of the District of Columbia by President Wilson in 1915. Hence for the story of his unique adventures in public administration as district commissioner, city manager of Petersburg and Knoxville and creator of Public Administration Clearing House, a more serious review must await the second volume.

So I decided just to leaf through this first volume and let it go at that. But, incautiously, I started reading and the fluent perceptive narrative bore me to the last page, companion in spirit to a shining and gifted boy who roamed the political world and brought to it his capacity for happy excitement.

R.S.C.

Constitutional Revision

METHODS OF STATE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM. By Albert L. Sturm. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1954. xii, 175 pp. \$2.50.

This volume, Number 28 of the Michigan Governmental Studies, undertakes to present an up-to-date comprehensive analysis, comparison and evaluation of the legal methods used to change state constitutions. The main source has been the provisions in the state constitutions regarding their own revision or amend-

ment. But the author quickly realizes that limiting his study to legal provisions would require him to omit such important matters as the constitutional commission and research for constitutional revision, so exceptions are made and these two subjects are included even though not recognized in any state constitution.

This essentially legalistic and statistical study will be of most specific help in efforts to improve the provisions of state constitutions for their future amendment and revision. It should also help citizens and officials of a state determine how best to make use of available legal and official machinery for constitutional change.

The very existence of this study, however, cries loudly for a second study on the extra-legal aspects of the problem of constitutional revision. Such a study should cover a number of important matters dealt with only in passing, if at all, in the present volume. Professor Sturm, for example, believes that "insufficient attention" has been paid to informing the electorate about constitutional revision issues but the limitations on the scope of his study kept him from an exposition of the use in some recent successful constitutional revision campaigns of radio; news, editorial and special feature articles in newspapers; direct mail; tabloids; billboard advertising; organized speakers' bureaus; the house organs of powerful organizations and other proved techniques. Other matters that need further exploration include the importance of leadership and the role of statewide organizations, the use of individual or group endorsements, the function of the political party, methods of organization in a statewide campaign and official public relations activities of a constitutional convention.

CHARLTON F. CHUTE,
Assistant Director

Institute of Public Administration

Better Home Town

BUILDING A BETTER HOME TOWN. By H. Clay Tate. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1954. xvi, 236 pp. \$3.50.

The editor of the Bloomington (Illinois) *Daily Pantagraph* urges revitalization of America's smaller communities by and for young people. "An experiment in strengthening the non-metropolitan community through self-analysis and self-help" is described.

W.N.C.

Urban South

THE URBAN SOUTH. A Symposium. Edited by Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954. xii, 307 pp. \$5.00.

Continuing the regional approach, another fine volume has come from the University of North Carolina, this time concerned with the reflections of eighteen specialists on the emergence and growth of cities in the south. As the main divisions of the book indicate, analysis is brought to bear upon the Urbanization of the South, the Organizational Aspects of Southern Cities, and Urbanism, Change and Tradition. All of the essays are fruitful as written by the sociologists, the economists, the population experts and the political scientists.

Of particular interest are the observations of H. C. Nixon, of Vanderbilt University, in his engagingly shrewd chapter, "Farewell to Possum Trot." Couched in whimsical phrases, Professor Nixon makes important comments on the problems of community leadership and the matter of bringing citizens together in common cause. He also discusses the changing role of the county and suggests that modern villagers must develop a feeling of belonging to the county to replace the feeling of belonging to cities and towns, which is vanishing. But he sees strong and vigorous counties, not mere government dispensaries offering

"self service but not self-determination." Like all the ideas expressed throughout the fourteen chapters of the book, this is challenging and worthy of continued attention.

W.F.L.

Additional Books, Pamphlets and Articles

Air Pollution

THE BATTLE AGAINST SMOG. Los Angeles, Air Pollution Foundation, 1955. 14 pp.

Auditing

COMPETITIVE BIDDING FOR AUDIT SERVICES TO GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES. By the Committee on Governmental Accounting, American Institute of Accountants and the General Committee on Accounting, Municipal Finance Officers Association. Chicago, the Association, April 1955. 2 pp.

Campaign Finance

REGULATION OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE. By Pamela Ford. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1955. 55 pp. \$1.25.

Community Planning

AN INVENTORY OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES FOR MONTGOMERY AND PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTIES, MARYLAND. Silver Spring, The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1955. 31 pp.

NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF MISSISSIPPI COMMUNITIES. Report of a Survey of Community Leaders. By Alex Fanelli. State College, Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, 1955. 33 pp.

Education

PUBLIC SCHOOL FINANCE PROGRAMS OF THE UNITED STATES. By Clayton D. Hutchins and Albert R. Munse. Washington, D.C., U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1955. 259 pp. \$1.50.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS ON SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE. Trenton, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1955. 16 pp.

Home Rule

HOME RULE. A Manual of Information. Fort Wayne, Indiana Junior Chamber of Commerce, n.d. 29 pp.

Industry

LOCATION OF INDUSTRY: AS INFLUENCED BY TAXATION AND SPECIAL INCENTIVEMENTS; Selected References. Detroit, Municipal Reference Library, 1955. 7 pp.

SPACE FOR INDUSTRY. An Analysis of Site and Location Requirements. By Dorothy A. Muncy. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, July 1954. 40 pp. \$5.00.

Legislative Reports

MICHIGAN LEGISLATIVE REPORT 1954. Regular and Special Sessions. By Robert G. Scigliano. East Lansing, Michigan State College, Governmental Research Bureau, 1955. 79 pp.

Legislative Research

LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH IN KENTUCKY. Third Biennial Report 1952-54. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1955. 82 pp.

Manuals

HANDBOOK OF NORTH CAROLINA STATE AGENCIES. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1955. 461 pp. \$5.00.

A MANUAL FOR LOUISIANA LEGISLATORS. Baton Rouge, Louisiana Legislative Council, 1955. 172 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

ACCELERATED URBAN GROWTH IN A METROPOLITAN FRINGE AREA. A Study of Urbanization, Suburbanization and the Impact of the U. S. Steel Plant in Lower Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Volume I: SUMMARY REPORT; Volume II: PROJECT REPORT. Philadelphia, University of

Pennsylvania, The Institute for Urban Studies, 1954. 98 and 287 pp. \$2.00 and \$4.00 respectively; \$5.00 for both.

Municipal Government

THE LARGE TOWN AND THE SMALL MUNICIPALITY. Their Strength and Their Weakness. Reports Prepared for the Vienna Congress, June 15-20, 1953. The Hague, International Union of Local Authorities, 1953. 239 pp.

Parking

SURVEY OF PARKING IN THE MODESTO CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT. Modesto (California), Parking Authority, 1955. 9 pp., tables, charts. 50 cents.

Shopping Centers

SHOPPING CENTERS AND THEIR EFFECT ON URBAN REDEVELOPMENT. Cleveland, Public Library, Business Information Bureau, *Business Information Sources*, September-November 1954. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Shopping Habits

SHOPPING HABITS AND TRAVEL PATTERNS. By Alan M. Voorhees, Gordon B. Sharpe and J. T. Stegmaier. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, March 1955. 24 pp. \$3.00.

Subdivisions

PLANNING RESIDENTIAL SUBDIVISIONS. By V. Joseph Kostka. Winnipeg (Manitoba), The Appraisal Institute of Canada, 1954. 127 pp.

Taxation and Finance

FINANCING KENTUCKY GOVERNMENT. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1955. 31 pp.

LAND VALUE AND TAXATION AROUND THE WORLD. Reports on current and historical efforts to apply the principle of collecting the community-created value of land for community benefit. Edited by Harry Gunnison Brown, Harold S. Buttenheim, Philip H. Cornick and Glenn E. Hoover. New York, Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1955. 223 pp. \$3.00.

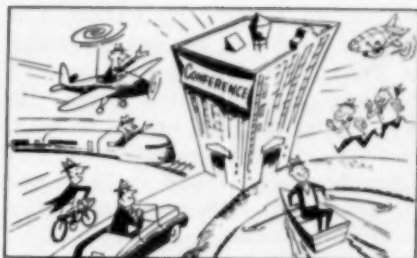
All Work and No Play . . .

The Arrangements Committee for the National Conference on Government is making sure that those in attendance will have fun as well as an instructive and intellectually stimulating time.

Several unusual events have been planned, as follows:

Sight-seeing Tour and Salmon Barbecue. On Sunday afternoon and evening, July 24, visitors will board buses to tour the Seattle vicinity. Buses will unload their passengers at a scenic spot on Puget Sound where huge, fresh-caught salmon will be baked before their eyes.

Boat Trip. After the last session on the program July 25, those interested may board excursion craft at the University campus and travel through Lake Washington, the ship canal and the Seattle harbor. Buses will take visitors to the retail district. They will be free to dine downtown.



Adapted from The County Officer

Art Museum Tea. Guests at the Conference and their wives are invited to a tea at the celebrated Seattle Art Museum, known for its East Asian collection, at 4:30 P.M., July 26. Transportation will be provided.

Theatre. Tickets at \$1 will be reserved for visitors who wish to attend performances at the famous Showboat or Penthouse Theatres on the campus the evening of July 26.

Willoughby a Member of Census Committee

Alfred Willoughby, executive director of the League, has been appointed a member of the Census Advisory Committee on State and Local Government Statistics for the next three years. The appointment was made by Robert W. Burgess, director, Bureau of the Census.

The other two new appointees to the committee, which consists of experts in the field, were Joseph F. Clark, executive director, Municipal Finance Officers Association, and Roscoe C. Martin, chairman, Department of Political Science, Syracuse University.

Civic League Management Subject of NACS Session

The National Association of Civic Secretaries, which holds its annual meeting in conjunction with the League's National Conference on Government, will stage a panel July 26 on "How to Run a Civic League."

Raymond D. Black, president of the organization and executive director of the Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, will be moderator. Executive officers of civic groups from Springfield, Massachusetts, to Seattle will participate in the discussion, which will be conducted on a professional level.

Inside the Office . . .

President **GEORGE H. GALLUP** was featured speaker at the annual meeting of Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc., at Baton Rouge. He was introduced by **CECIL MORGAN**, chairman of the League's Council. . . . Council member **EDWIN D. DODD** was presented with a distinguished service award for outstanding community service by the Ohio Junior Chamber of Commerce. . . . Another Council member, **H. BRUCE PALMER**, was cited as "New

Mr. Matthews recently addressed the League of Women Voters of Connecticut on the work of the Citizens for a Connecticut Constitutional Convention, of which he is chairman. . . . Dr. Emmerich received the degree of doctor of civil laws at the 25th anniversary celebration of the founding of the University of Southern California's School of Administration. . . . Regional vice president **JOHN B. GAGE** spoke before the Colorado Springs Charter Association during a



Mark S. Matthews



H. Bruce Palmer



Rob Roy Macleod



E. D. Dodd

Jersey's Business Citizen of the Year." . . . **ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON**, honorary vice president of the League, is ambassador to New Zealand.

RICHARD S. CHILDS, chairman, League Executive Committee, will have an article in the forthcoming issue of the *Women Lawyers Journal*, published by the National Association of Women Lawyers. It deals with the model presidential primary law on which Mr. Childs is working. . . . Mr. Childs recently explained the virtues of council-manager government to an audience in Aurora, Illinois.

Among the recent visitors to the League's new headquarters were the following officers: **KARL DETZER**, **HERBERT EMMERICH**, **MARK S. MATTHEWS**, **CECIL MORGAN** and **JAMES M. OSBORN**. . . .

hot local fight over council-manager government in that community.

HOWARD P. JONES, former League secretary, blew in unannounced from Indonesia where he is chief of mission, United States Operations Mission. When the Dutch held Indonesia, Mr. Jones said, they trained almost no technicians. Now the young country is faced with the problem of developing personnel that can plan a dam and assess a tax.

Assistant Director **JOHN E. BEBOUT** will read a paper on "Recent Developments in the Use of Constitutional Conventions in the States" at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in September. . . . League senior associate **JOHN P. KEITH** was a participant in a planning session for a symposium on problems of state govern-

Office (Continued)

ment which the American Assembly will hold at Arden House, Harriman, New York, in October. . . . WILLIAM F. LARSEN is concluding his work as League Fellow this month. He has been appointed associate professor of public administration at the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration and is resigning as assistant professor of political science at the University of Florida.

Among those who participated in the 43rd annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States were MARK S. MATTHEWS; THOMAS R. REID, regional vice president of the League; H. BRUCE PALMER; ROB ROY MACLEOD, former council member; WILLIAM H. SHEPHERD, member of the League's Finance Committee and ALLEN H. SEED, JR., assistant director. . . . Mr. Seed addressed the annual meeting of the Cranston (Rhode Island) Home Rule Association.

MAXWELL S. STEWART, secretary, Public Affairs Committee, conferred with members of the staff on the possibility of issuing several pamphlets in the area of local government. . . . E. GREEN, city treasurer, Durban, South Africa, asked the League for materials on various forms of municipal government. . . . JOHN M. PAYNE visited the League in connection with a history of the citizens' research movement which he is writing.

Library Welcomes Visitors

Visitors to the National Conference in Seattle will have an opportunity to inspect the Municipal Reference Library in that city. A branch of the Seattle Public Library, it is generally considered one of the few top-notch institutions of its kind in the country.

Remodeling Fund Now Totals \$19,641.33

A second contribution to the League's Remodeling Fund, which is meeting the cost of converting the organization's new headquarters to office use, has been received from The Murray Seasongood Good Government Fund.

Earlier both the Fund and Mr. Seasongood himself had made generous gifts for this purpose.

To date 246 contributions totalling \$19,641.33 have been made to the Remodeling Fund.

Among the other substantial donors not previously acknowledged in these columns are the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc., Regional Vice President Ed. P. Phillips and Weldon Cooper.

Also Daniel S. McHargue, E. K. Campbell Company, L. M. Short, Victoria Schuck, Washington, D. C., Board of Trade, Mrs. Albert D. Cash, Detroit Citizens League, Allstate Insurance Company, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore M. Edison.

Also Elwyn A. Mauck, Lohn R. Ficklin, Town of Windsor, Connecticut, Charles E. Redfield Foundation, Inc., Hawkins, Delafield and Wood, C. Rowland Stebbins, Mrs. C. P. McHugh, Baker, Watts and Company, George R. Metcalf, Frank M. Stewart, E. R. Simpson, C. Kendrick Brown, Gerrit Vander Ende, Esther R. Kuhn, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc., James F. Shurtleff, *Alaska Sportsman*, Joseph C. Duval and Oscar Mayer Foundation, Inc.

Also J. A. H. Slawson, the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester, G. Coleman Woodbury, American Society of Clinical Pathologists, John P. Keith, William N. Cassella, Jr., Amos Landman and Elsie S. Parker.

Program

(Continued from page 287)

Myron C. Law, President, Municipal League of Seattle and King County.

Charles T. Silversen, President, Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County.

Area-Wide Planning — An Approach to Metropolitan Order. Chairman: Lloyd Hale, Director, Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis. Members:

T. Ledyard Blakeman, Executive Director, Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, Detroit.

John P. Spaeth, Jr., Director of Planning, Seattle.

Thomas N. Sullivan, County Manager, Maricopa County, Arizona.

S. B. Zisman, Planning Consultant, San Antonio.

Management in Local Government — Professional Administration in Cities and Counties. Chairman to be announced. Members:

L. Perry Cookingham, City Manager, Kansas City, Missouri.

Leverett S. Lyon, Association of Commerce and Industry, Chicago.

Walton R. L. Taylor, City Manager, Missoula, Montana.

Weighing the Merit System — Citizen Interest in Civil Service. Chairman and members to be announced.

The Names on the Ballot — Evaluating Nominating Systems. Chairman: Richard S. Childs, Chairman, National Municipal League Executive Committee. Members:

Hugh A. Bone, Professor of Political Science, University of Washington.

Mrs. Robert Lee Burnside, Leader of 1954 Initiative Movement for Presidential Primary, Washington.

Joseph P. Harris, Professor of Political Science, University of California.

Richard L. Neuberger, United States Senator from Oregon.

Daniel M. Ogden, Assistant Professor of Political Science, State College of Washington.

July 27, 12:15 P.M.

Luncheon Meeting. Speaker: Richard S. Childs, Chairman, Executive Committee, National Municipal League. Topic: "Old Reformers Never Die."

July 27, 2:15 P.M.

Telling the Civic Story. Chairman: Karl Detzer, Roving Editor, *The Reader's Digest*. Members:

W. Howard Chase, Vice President, McCann-Erickson, Inc., New York.

Frederick A. Irving, Major General, United States Army (retired); President, American Committee to Improve our Neighborhoods.

Raymond H. Witcoff, National Citizens' Committee for Educational Television.

July 27, 6:30 P.M.

Annual Dinner. Speaker: Dr. George H. Gallup, National Municipal League President. Topic: "Milestones Ahead."

July 28

Twentieth Annual Institute of Government, University of Washington.

Breakfast Meeting: Zoning Round-table.

Professional Conferences and Lunches: Washington Library Association, Washington Association of Library Trustees, Pacific Northwest Regional Council of the National Association of Housing and Development Officials.

Executive Committee Meeting: Association of Washington Cities.

Housing Committee Is Making Reservations

The Conference Housing Committee is handling reservations for those attending the Seattle meeting in July.

It has blocks of rooms reserved at the downtown hotels and is booking rooms in the University Residence Hall on the campus. Residence Hall accommodations run from \$3 to \$6, about half the cost of hotel accommodations. Most rooms in the residence hall do not have a private bath.

Those interested should write to the committee at 316 Marion Building, Seattle 4, Washington, for a form on which to request reservations. The committee will also help with motel accommodations.

Make your reservation early!

Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1954).....	\$.20
Charts: Council-manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-council Form (17½ x 22½"), 50 cents each, set of three.....	1.00
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950).....	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1953).....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952).....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1953).....	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1952).....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953).....	.75
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953).....	.75
(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.20)	

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946).....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948).....	.75
Model City Charter, 175 pages (1941).....	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953).....	1.00
Model County Charter (New edition in preparation).....	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951).....	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 23 pages (1954).....	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 40 pages (1954).....	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law (1954).....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953).....	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948).....	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1954).....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1954).....	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946).....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952).....	3.50
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 90 pages, mimeographed (1954).....	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1954).....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1952).....	.75
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1954).....	.50
The Metropolitan Problem—Current Research, Opinion, Action, by Guthrie S. Birkhead (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL RE- VIEW), 12 pages (1953).....	.25
More Responsible States. Panel Discussion, National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, 33 pages, mimeographed (1953).....	.50
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955).....	.50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951).....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940).....	.25
Save Our Cities, by Joseph E. McLean etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1954).....	.35

Discounts on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building
47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

We Announce

Our New

Publications List

If you will drop us a line giving the names of friends who might be interested in our popular literature, model laws and other works, we'll be happy to send them a copy of the new edition of our publications list.

National Municipal League

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building

47 East 68th St., New York 21, N. Y.

the only comprehensive, contemporary study of its kind

**GREAT CITIES
OF THE WORLD**

**Their Government, Politics
and Planning**

Edited by William A. Robson

Written by twenty-one outstanding political scientists, this collection of essays on eighteen metropolitan centers throughout the world shows the problems of government, politics, and planning which confront a selected group of the great cities of the world.

June 1955 Probably \$10.00

The Macmillan Company

40 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

Unusual Fare

**For Meetings of Chambers of Commerce, Civic
Groups, Leagues of Women Voters, Taxpayers'
Associations and other Organizations**

The National Municipal League offers six recordings of its new "Citizens at Work" radio series, just concluded over the Mutual Broadcasting System. These 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ RPM discs tell the story of how embattled citizens united and won the fight for civic betterment or reform in their communities. They will inspire your fellow-citizens to similar accomplishments. The communities whose stories are told are Fort Wayne, Indiana; Modesto, California; Owensboro, Kentucky; Parsippany-Troy Hills, New Jersey; Pendleton, Oregon; and Pueblo, Colorado. Price: \$10.00 each disc.

**Also Suitable for High School Classes and
College Political Science Courses**

Place Your Order Today!

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21